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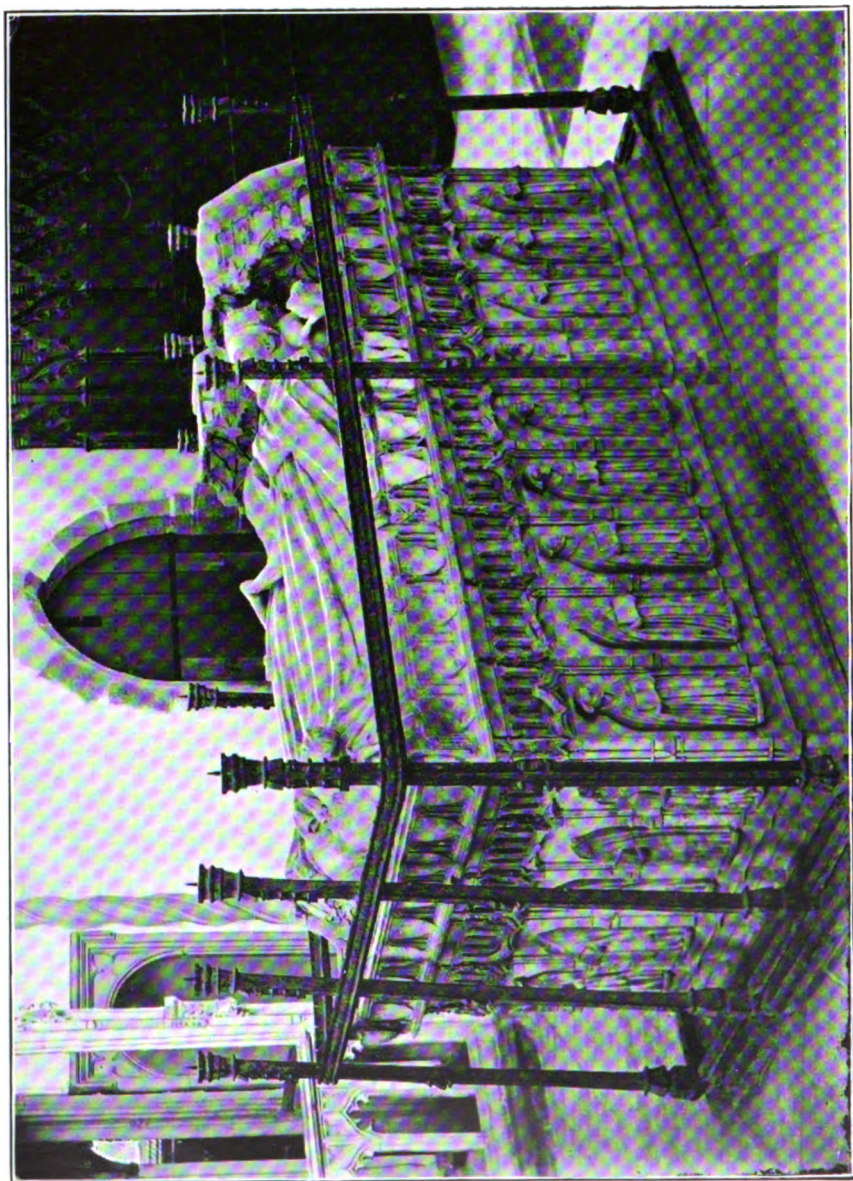
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The church of our fathers

Daniel Rock, George
Waldegrave Hart, Walter Howard Frere

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TOMB OF THOMAS, EARL OF ARUNDEL (ob. 1415), AND BEATRIX (DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF PORTUGAL) HIS WIFE

From the Fitz Alan Chapel, Arundel

Frontispiece

*

THE CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS

THE
CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS

AS SEEN IN ST. OSMUND'S RITE FOR
THE CATHEDRAL OF SALISBURY

WITH DISSERTATIONS ON THE BELIEF AND RITUAL
IN ENGLAND BEFORE AND AFTER THE
COMING OF THE NORMANS

By DANIEL ROCK, D.D.

CANON OF THE ENGLISH CHAPTER

A NEW EDITION IN FOUR VOLUMES

EDITED BY G. W. HART AND W. H. FRERE

OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION

VOLUME IV

WITH A

POSTSCRIPT

CONTAINING BRIEF NOTES ON SOME QUESTIONS RAISED

JOHN HODGES
HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON

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TO
BERTRAM ARTHUR
EIGHTEENTH EARL OF SHREWSBURY
EARL OF WATERFORD AND WEXFORD

Hereditary Lord High Steward of Ireland

ETC. ETC.

IN THE WELL-GROUNDED HOPE THAT, LIKE HIS EXEMPLARY KINSMAN THE
LATE GOOD EARL, WHOSE LOSS THE CATHOLICS OF ENGLAND ARE STILL
MOURNING, HE, IN HIS DAY, WILL BE ONE OF THOSE WHO WITH ALL THEIR
HEART FOLLOW THE TEACHINGS WHILE THEY LOVE THE BEAUTY OF THE
TRUE OLD BELIEF, AND WITH ALL HIS STRENGTH UPHOLD, IN THIS
LAND OF HIS SIRS, "THE CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS,"

THESE VOLUMES ARE DEDICATED BY

HIS FRIEND

DANIEL ROCK.

PREFATORY NOTE TO VOL. IV

It has been found necessary to handle this volume more severely than the earlier ones, in order to bring it into line with them; for in the former edition it differed from the rest not only in type but also in arrangement; the clear line between text and notes was transgressed: Latin and English were mingled in the text in a confusing way, which was foreign to the other volumes. It seemed best, therefore, to bring this volume to better conformity by relegating Latin quotations to the footnotes, giving an abstract or summary in English, where it was necessary, in the place which they had occupied in the text. It has not been thought necessary, however, to bracket the additions which this handling has involved, or otherwise indicate the changes, since they are only changes in arrangement.

In the course of the four volumes there are a few of Dr. Rock's references which have baffled the editors: the citations have not as a rule been verified for verification's sake but where it seemed desirable to quote an improved or more accessible text. Thus new references have been

supplied to the writers included in Migne's *Patrology* for the sake of uniformity and convenience: or again to those included in the *Rolls Series* for the sake of greater accuracy as well as accessibility: and the greater part of the baffling has been with texts of this sort, where the more critical editions have rejected passages which were allowed to have a place in older editions. Such alteration or verification has, however, not generally been made where Dr. Rock referred to a standard authority such as the *Acta Sanctorum*: and in many cases where better editions than those of Migne were readily accessible—such as Plummer's *Bede*, to quote one example—they have been given the preference.

The index has been made afresh, and since it now includes all the authors referred to, it does away with the necessity for a separate list of the authorities cited.

Our best thanks are due to several helpers, especially to Mr. Bedford Pim for much help in the matter of illustrations, and to Mr. Christopher Wordsworth for such valuable suggestions and criticisms as can only be had from one who has carried on Dr. Rock's work, as he has, both in popular writings such as his valuable *Medieval Services*, and also in his numerous scientific editions of liturgical works.

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PART THE SECOND

CHAPTER XI

FROM having listened to our forefathers while they said, as it were, their belief aloud, let us now look at them going through the several public services of the Church; and, in the first place, we will see how

THE CANONICAL HOURS WERE KEPT BY THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

Together with their faith, from Rome was it that the Anglo-Saxons drew their liturgy also, and those books in which its rites were set forth.¹

¹ Tertio decimo definitur decreto: ut uno eodemque modo dominicæ dispensationis in carne sacrosanctæ festivitates, in omnibus ad eas rite competentibus rebus, id est, in baptismi officio, in missarum celebratione, in cantilenæ modo, celebrentur, juxta exemplar videlicet quod scriptum de Romana habemus ecclesia (*Concil. Cloveshov.*, A.D. 747, can. xiii., in Wilkins, *Conc.*, i. 96). Speaking of the ember-days' fast, Egbert, archbishop of York, says:—Nos autem in ecclesia Anglorum idem primi mensis jejunium, ut noster didascalus beatus Gregorius, in suo antiphonario et missali libro, per pedagogum nostrum beatum Augustinum transmisit ordinatum et rescriptum . . . servamus—*Dialogus Egberti*, in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 95. Quinto decimo definierunt capitulo: ut septem canonicæ orationum diei et noctis horæ diligenti cura, cum psalmodia et cantilena sibimet convenienti

Like the rest of (2) Christendom then, seven times within the day did each church-bell ring and bid its clerks—from the subdeacon upwards—to come thither and sing God's praises, morning, noon, and night;² and the parish priest who forgot either of these duties was liable to be punished by a fine.³ Among those most conspicuous for their learning, or high position in the Church at that period, we find such men as Beda, Egbert, and Ælfric telling this country, each in his own time, of this ritual usage, and how it ought to be followed. Beda's notice of the "hours" in general, or of some particular part in them, is curious;⁴ while the archbishop of York, and the abbot who was afterwards called to the primatial chair of Canterbury, both lay down the canon-law upon this matter. So thoroughly do those prelates' opinions agree, that Egbert's Latin ordinance⁵ seems to (3) have

observentur, et ut eandem monasterialis psalmodiæ parilitatem ubique sectentur, nihilque quod communis usus non admittit, præsumant cantare aut legere, sed tantum quod ex sacrarum scripturarum auctoritate descendit, et quod Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudo permittit, cantent vel legant; quatenus unanimes, uno ore laudent Deum.—*Concil. Cloveshov.*, A.D. 747, in Wilkins, *Conc.*, i. 97.

² Ut omnes sacerdotes, horis compitentibus diei ac noctis suarum sonent ecclesiarum signa, et sacra tunc Deo celebrent officia.—*Excerpt. Egberti*, in Thorpe, ii. 98.

³ If a priest, at the appointed time, do not ring the hours, or sing the hours, let him make "bōt" for it.—*Law of the Northumbrian Priests*, § 36, in Thorpe, ii. 297.

⁴ See notes 42, &c., further on.

⁵ Septem igitur sinaxes sancti patres canendas constituerunt quas omni die clerus singulis horis canere debet; quarum prima

been put into Anglo-Saxon by Ælfric, who says : —“Seven canonical hours they (the first four general councils) appointed for us to sing daily to the praise of our Lord ; as the prophet David said in his prophecy : ‘Septies in die, &c.’ ‘Seven times, my Lord,’ said he, ‘I have said my praise in one day, for the righteousness of Thy judgments.’ The first canonical hour is uht-song (or matins), with the after-song (lauds) thereunto belonging ; prime-song, undern (tierce) song, mid-day (sext) song, none-song, even-song, night-song (complin). These seven canonical hours ye should sing with great attention, to the praise of your Lord, daily in church, always at the hour appointed ; and, in like manner, celebrate Mass at the appointed time.”⁶

That in their general construction and the distribution of their component parts, the canonical hours were the same then that they are now, we gather from a variety of documents. As the ritual of Rome became the ritual for the whole of Anglo-Saxondom, the comments written on the first by such a man as our Alcuin’s scholar

est nocturnalis sinaxis ; secunda prima hora diei ; tertia ipsa hora est quam tertiam vocamus ; quarta vero sexta hora est ; quinta nona hora est ; sexta autem sinaxis vespera hora est ; septimam namque sinaxim completorium vocitamus. Has ergo septem sinaxes omni die debemus sollicitè reddere Deo pro nobis et pro omni populo Christiano, sicut psalmista testatur dicens : “Septies in die laudem dixi tibi super iudicia justiciæ tuæ.”—*Excerpt. Egberti*, xxviii., in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 101.

⁶ *Ib.*, ii. 376. Uht-tide was the space of time between three and six o’clock in the morning.

Amalarius, will show us most, if not all, of the most striking features in the other. From this great liturgical writer we learn that the first canonical hour began with those words of Psalm l. 17 [li. 15], "*Domine, labia mea aperies*—O Lord, Thou wilt open my lips, and my mouth shall declare Thy (4) praise": to them was added the "Glory be to the Father, &c." Then was sung that quickening call of the royal prophet, "*Venite, exultemus Domino*—Come, let us praise the Lord with joy, &c,"⁷ known in those times, as now, by the name of the "invitatory." After this, twelve psalms were chanted without any anthems, and the "Glory be to the Father, &c." only thrice repeated, once after every four psalms. Before the three lessons out of Holy Writ which, with their respective responses and versicles, were then recited, a blessing⁸ was asked and given at each lesson, and but one short verse, followed by a prayer, was said.⁹ Such was the substance of the first nocturn or service for the first watch of night on Sundays: for other days, six instead of twelve psalms were sung in the first nocturn.¹⁰ The second nocturn consisted of three other psalms, each of which had attached to it its own anthem; the second verse was said before the three lessons were begun, with their proper re-

⁷ Psalm xciv. [xcv.]

⁸ Amalarius, *De Ecc. Offic.*, iv. 3, Hittorp, 449.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 501.

¹⁰ Amalarius, *De Ordine Antiphonarii*, iii., Hittorp, 509.

sponses. The third nocturn was just like the second, with the exception that instead of an anthem at each of its three psalms, *Alleluia* was recited.¹¹ As, by St. Benet's rule,¹² there were on Sundays and holydays twelve lessons, besides a lesson from the Gospel after the *Te Deum*, it is likely that the lessons at the second nocturn were drawn from the life of that saint whose feast happened to be kept; for we know that the (5) acts of a saint used, on his festival, to be read in church from the ambo or pulpit.¹³ At the end of the third nocturn, on Sundays and saints' days, was chanted the Ambrosian hymn *Te Deum*.¹⁴ While the psalms were sung, all stood; during the time of the lessons, every one, the reader only excepted, sat down.¹⁵ Taken together, these three nocturns made what the Anglo-Saxons called "uht-song," but we "matins." On high days all the bells were rung for this service, and during the singing of it one wax taper at the least was lighted, and just as the office was drawn to an end the altar was fumed with incense.¹⁶ If not

¹¹ Amal., *De Ecc. Off.*, iv. 9, in Hittorp, 460, 461; *De Ord. Antiph.*, i, Hittorp, 507.

¹² Caps. xi., xiv., Holsten, *Codex Regularum*, ed. Brockie, i. 121, 122 [see *P.L.* lxi. 435, 436, 449, 450].

¹³ Sanctarum virginum Anatholiæ et Victoris præconia . . . schedarum apicibus quando rotante anni circulo natalitia earumdem catholici celebrant, in pulpito ecclesiæ recitantur.—St. Aldhelm, *Lib. de Laud. Virginitatis*, lii. [*P.L.* lxxxix. 151].

¹⁴ Amalarus, *Prolog. in Ordin. Antiph.*, Hittorp, 505.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, *De Ecc. Off.*, iv. 9, Hitt., 460.

¹⁶ His diebus inter Innocentium festivitatem et octavas Domini

earlier, at least from St. Dunstan's times, in every minster-church, after matins and each of the other hours, psalms and a collect were said for the king and queen, as also for that house's benefactors, who, from having their names enrolled among its especial friends, were called familiars.¹⁷ The Church's wish was, that in all collegiate (6) and monastic bodies, these nocturns should begin at such a time as to be ended just as morning's twilight broke, so that the next of her services, the "lauds" (or *matutinæ laudes*) might come on immediately after, like gladsome thankfulness for a new day then dawning, an emblem of Christ's second coming:¹⁸ hence these "lauds," though forming by themselves a distinct canonical hour, were named by the Anglo-Saxons "after-song."¹⁹ This service consisted of the same

... ad matutinas, licet, *Te Deum laudamus* non canatur et Evangelium minime festivo more legatur, cereus tamen accendatur et signa pulsantur omnia et thuribulum turificando deportetur. (*Regularis Concordia*, in Reyner, *Apost. Benedict.*, Appendix, 85.) This very valuable rule is the work of St. Dunstan, and may be seen in the Cotton MS., *Tiberius A. III.*, with an interlinear Anglo-Saxon translation [*Anglia*, xiii., N.F. I. iv.].

¹⁷ Peractis nocturnis, dicant duos psalmos, *Domine, ne in furore tuo, et Exaudi te Deus*, unum videlicet pro rege specialiter, alterum pro rege et regina, ac familiaribus, cum collectis, *Quæsumus omnipotens Deus ut famulus tuus rex noster N., qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula, &c.* . . . et sic finitis omnibus regularibus horis semper agatur.—*Regularis Concordia*, 80, 81. Of these especial friends we have before spoken (vol. ii. p. 271).

¹⁸ Amal., *De Ecc. Off.*, iv., 9, Hittorp, 461. St. Dunstan's *Regularis Concordia* says: Quod si luce diei, ut oportet, finitum fuerit officium (laudes, &c.) incipiunt primam.—*Ut sup.* 81.

¹⁹ Ælfric says: "And ye should sing sunrise, uhtan, and mass-ughton, always nine intervals with nine readings." Thorpe, *Ancient*

psalms as now; at the end of them was read a short lesson or little chapter: then was chanted the *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, before which canticle of Zachary went a versicle; a prayer or collect said by the priest came next, and the whole ended with the blessing *Benedicamus Domino: Deo gratias*.²⁰ From the tenth century, perhaps sooner, the custom was to pray here for the king, the queen, and that particular minster's benefactors: then were sung different anthems—one of the Cross, another of our Blessed Lady, a third of that saint whose name the church bore. Afterwards a procession was made, first round the inside of the hallowed building, while an anthem was sung in praise of the saint whose (7) altar they were about to stop at for the collect.²¹ The procession did not end at that spot, but after a very olden usage spoken of by Beda, as we said before, went unto the burial ground, where prayers and psalms were sung in behoof of such souls of the dead as had their graves there.²²

Laws, ii. 385; clearly marking the difference of the two parts of early daily service of the church, and separating them, as we still do, into matins and lauds.

²⁰ Amal., *De Ordin. Antiph.*, v., Hittorp, 510, 511, &c.

²¹ Post hoc, sequantur diei laudes: post *Miserere mei Deus*, &c., addant duos psalmos pro rege, reginaque, et familiaribus, *Beati quorum*, &c., *Inclina Domine*, &c. Quibus finitis cantent antiphonam de cruce. Inde, antiphonam de Sancta Maria, et de sancto cuius veneratio in præsenti colitur ecclesia, aut si minus fuerit, de ipsius loci consecratione. Post quos, eundem est ad matutinales laudes de omnibus sanctis, decantando antiphonam, ad venerationem sancti, cui porticus, ad quam itur, dedicata est. —*Reg. Conc.*, 81.

²² Vol. ii., 272.

Prime-song began with *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*,—O God, make speed, &c.,—*Gloria Patri*, &c.,²³ at the end of which, from Septuagesima till Easter, *Alleluia* was dropped, and in its stead *Laus tibi, Domine, rex æternæ gloriæ*—Praise to thee, O Lord, King of eternal glory.²⁴ Then was chanted the psalm *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus*,²⁵ &c. ; and after this the first part of the next psalm, *Beati immaculati*, &c. No little chapter was read, but there was recited the versicle *Exurge Domine*—O Lord, arise, &c.²⁶ The *Kyrie eleison*, &c., with the *Pater noster*, the *Credo in Deum*, and the *Miserere mei Deus*, Ps. l. [li.], &c., followed. At the end of this psalm, the priest said the versicle *Respice in servos tuos*—Look upon Thy servants, &c.,—and was answered by the choir with *Et sit splendor Domini*—And the glorious majesty, &c.;—and then he recited the collect *Dirigere*, &c. In many of the stricter minsters, the brethren, (8) at this part of prime-song, went from church into their chapter-house to hear ghostly reading.²⁷

Undern-song, or tierce, was begun by the officiating priest intoning *Deus in adiutorium*, &c.:²⁸ a versicle was then given out before each of the three psalms,²⁹ or rather parts of the same CXVIII.

²³ Amal., *De Ecc. Off.*, iv. 2, Hittorp, 445.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Ps. cxvii. [cxviii.].

²⁶ Amal., *De Ecc. Off.*, iv. 2; *ibid.*, 445.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 446, 447, 450.

[CXIX.] psalm. A short lesson out of Holy Writ was read, the *Kyrie*, &c. repeated, and the collect said by the head-priest, who, for singing this last prayer both at undern-song and all other "hours," arose, alone of all there, from the kneeling position³⁰ in which he had said, along with the choir, the *Kyrie*, &c. Having finished the collect, the priest called upon all to bless the Lord; and thus ended undern-song.³¹ In like manner, mid-day-song (or sext) and none-song, were gone through, the first having another portion of the CXVIII. [CXIX.] psalm, the other the rest of it, for their respective psalmody.³²

After, however, undern-song or tierce, the first mass of the day, or the "morrow mass," was sung. This being over, all walked processionally to the chapter-house, where having bowed to the crucifix that always hung on the (9) eastern wall, and then to their brethren, each took his allotted seat. First came the reading of the martyrology, followed by

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 448.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 448, 450.

³² Postremo surgit sacerdos vice illius sacerdotis qui in cœlo est, et quotidie interpellat pro nobis, et dicit stando orationem . . . ut resurrectionem recolat ejus sacerdotis, cujus vicem tenet, surgit ab accubitu et stando dicit hanc orationem. Qui tamen prius jacendo orat cum cœteris, quoniam peccator est, cum peccatoribus prostratus est; et quia vicem tenet Christi, stando dicit specialem orationem.—*Ibid.*, 452. This same ritual custom is still followed in the Catholic Church, and the same beautiful symbolism expresses its meaning. See also Amalarius again, *ut supra*, 457.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 452.

³² *Amal., De Ordin. Antiph.*, vi. Hittorp, 513.

some prayers ; then, a chapter out of the rules, or were it a holyday, the gospel for the feast, upon which a sermon was preached. Those who had done any thing wrong, stood forth, and meekly acknowledging it, craved forgiveness ; all dead brethren were next prayed for, and immediately afterwards, in the same manner as they came to the chapter-house, so they left it.³³

(10) At even-song, five psalms were sung ;³⁴ next to them came the lesson or little chapter, and after it, a versicle.³⁵ Then followed the canticle sung by our Blessed Lady, the *Magnificat* ; and,

³³ Incipiant horam tertiam, post cuius terminum dicat pro rege atque regina et benefactoribus suis psalmos, *Usquequo Domine*, et *Miserere mei*, subsequentibus collectis, deinde missam matutinalem celebrent . . . hoc expleto, facto signo a priore convenientes ad capitulum, ipso præcedente, versa facie ad orientem salutent crucem, et cæteris undique fratribus se vultu inclinato humilient. Tunc residentibus cunctis, legatur martyrologium. Quo dicto surgentes omnes, dicant versum, *Preciosa in conspectu Domini*, &c., cum oratione ac versu, *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, qui versus tertio repetatur ab omnibus priore incipiente, subiungentes, *Gloria*, humiliato capite. Sequitur oratio, *Dirigere et sanctificare*, &c. . . . Iterum autem residentibus legatur regula, vel si dies festus fuerit, Evangelium ipsius diei, de qua lectione a priore prout Dominus dederit, dicatur. Post hoc quicumque se rerum alicuius culpæ agnoscit, veniam humiliter postulans, petat indulgentiam.—*Reg. Conc.*, 81. Finito hoc spiritualis purgaminis negotio, quinque psalmos, pro defunctis fratribus, decantent. Ista vero omnia quæ diximus, post tertiam his temporibus agenda, Dominicis diebus omni tempore ante tertiam.—*Ibid.*, 82. In diebus autem festis . . . ita protendatur Prima, ut capitulo facto, matutinalique missa celebrata, quæ die Dominica, de Trinitate celebranda est nisi alia festiva dies fuerit, si dies Dominica fuerit, mox accedant ad consecrationem conspersiois, si alia quælibet solemnitas, mox ad Tertiam.—*Ibid.*, 82.

³⁴ Amal., *De Ecc. Off.*, iv. 7, Hittorp, 454.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 455.

to give full meaning to the versicle, *Dirigatur, Domine, oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo*—Let my prayer be set forth in Thy sight, O Lord, as the incense³⁶—chanted on week days, incense was burned, then as now, at this part of the office :³⁷ a collect being afterwards said, this last of the canonical hours ended. For the matins, lauds, and even-song, the psalmody on each day of the week was so varied, that all the CL. psalms of the whole psalter might be gone through in the canonical hours within that space of time.

For complin or night-song, which is rather a complement to, than a distinct hour by itself of the divine office, four psalms, always the same, were sung ;³⁸ and, after them, the versicle *Custodi me, Domine, ut pupillam oculi sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me*,—Keep me, O Lord, as the apple of an eye, hide me under the shadow of Thy wings.³⁹ Then came Simeon's canticle, *Nunc dimittis*.⁴⁰ Like as at prime, so at complin, there was then no lesson.⁴¹

Such is the outline we have been able to draw from the larger and more detailed sketch left us by Amalarius of the Church's canonical hours according to the Roman usage—the usage too of Anglo-Saxondom—at the beginning of the ninth

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 455.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 456.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 457 ; and *De Ordin. Antiph.*, 515.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 458.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 458.

⁴¹ *De Ordin. Antiph.*, 516.

century. That these canonical hours were, in the main, the same when Beda lived, we may gather from those notices made on them by chance, and which lie scattered through the writings of our learned and sainted countryman. While Beda speaks of the (11) canonical course followed day and night, as a practice a very long time adopted by the Church when he wrote, he tells us that the custom of reading a lesson out of the Old or the New Testament, at each of those "hours," was borrowed from the Jews.⁴² To the "invitatory" at the beginning of uht-song (or matins) he makes an especial reference;⁴³ and in leading us to

⁴² Commenting on those words, "they read in the book of the law of the Lord their God four times in the day,"—from Nehemias, or the second book of Esdras, ix. 3,—Beda says: *Quis enim non miretur populum tam eximiam habuisse curam pietatis, ut quater in die, hoc est primo mane, tertia hora, sexta et nona, quibus orationi sive psalmodiæ vacandum erat, auditui se legis divinæ contraderent . . . sed et in nocte quater, excusso torpore somni, ad confitenda peccata sua et postulandam veniam exurgerent. Quo exemplo reor in Ecclesia morem inoluisse, ut per singulas diurnæ psalmodiæ horas lectio una de Veteri sive Novo Testamento cunctis audientibus ex corde dicatur; et sic apostolicis sive prophetis confirmati verbis, ad instantiam orationis genua flectant. Sed et horis nocturnis, cum a laboribus cessatur operum, liberas auditui lectionum divinarum aures accommodantur.*—Beda, *Expos. in Esdram et Nehemiam Prophetas*, iii. 28 [*P.L.*, xci. 908].

⁴³ In his exposition on St. Luke ii. 24, St. Beda says: *Item cum intrans cubiculum clauso ostio oro Patrem in abscondito, turturem offero. At cum ejusdem operis compares quæro, canendo cum Propheta: Venite, adoremus, et procidamus ante Deum, ploremus coram Domino qui fecit nos: columbas ad altare deporto* [*P.L.*, xcii. 343]. That this holy doctor of the Anglo-Saxon church had the "invitatorium" here before his eyes, Amalarius, Alcuin's scholar, tells us in *Liber de Antiphonarîi Ordine*, i. [Hittorp, 506]. Another writer, who was most likely an Anglo-Saxon, thus glances at it also: *Sicut enim invitatorium dicitur ab invitando cum inchoatur officium noc-*

understand why it is that (12) the Church has wished the third, sixth, and ninth, rather than the other hours of the day, to be more immediately hallowed by her public prayers, this same holy father lets us know the existence, at the period, of such a rite.⁴⁴ Through another observation which Beda drops by happy chance, we find that the canticle sung by Moses (*Deut.* xxxii.) took its place then, as it does now, among the psalms for lauds in Saturday's ferial office.⁴⁵

The utter absence, in Beda's and Amalarius's works, of the smallest mention about those metres known to us as hymns, would lead us to think that, at first, no such rhythmical compositions were embodied, as they are now, into the liturgy for the canonical hours, either in this island, or at Rome, at least up to the beginning of the ninth century.⁴⁶ That after that period hymns, as we

turnum, quando dicitur *Venite*, ita introitum ab introeundo cum initiatur diurnum. Antiphonam autem ad Introitum Cœlestinus natione Campanus, pontifex Romæ constituit.—*De Ordine Missæ* Biblioth. Bodl., MS. Hatton 93, fol. i'.

⁴⁴ Tria enim tempora quibus Daniel in die flectere genua sua, et adorare legitur, tertia, sexta, et nona hora, ab Ecclesia intelligitur. Quia et Dominus tertia hora Spiritum sanctum mittens, sexta ipse crucem ascendens, nona animam ponens, easdem horas nobis cæteris excellentius intimare et sanctificare dignatus est.—S. Beda, *In Acta Apost.*, ii. [*P.L.*, xcii. 948].

⁴⁵ Confluebant autem die Sabbati in synagogis. . . . Cujus eo die devotionis agendæ hactenus in Ecclesia perdurat indicium, quæ ad memoriam prisæ religionis canticum Deuteronomii, in quo universus veteris populi status, quid videlicet offenso, quid propitio Deo meruerit, continetur, nonnullis in locis Sabbato dicere consuevit.—*In Lucæ Evang.*, iv. [*P.L.*, xcii. 373].

⁴⁶ Had hymns been a part of the canonical hours in Beda's days, hardly could he have helped telling us so while writing to his

now (13) understand the word, were sung in church at the different hours, as well as just before the gospel at mass, we learn from more than one quarter. Many years before then, these poetical productions came to be recited in the "hours," at the will and by the free devotion of individual bishops and abbots; thus what began with certain cathedrals and minsters, grew at last into the universal practice of Latin Christendom. Some localities were not so quick as others in following this liturgical usage, for while the monks of Subiaco sang hymns at the canonical hours, from St. Benet's time, it was not before the twelfth⁴⁷ century that the clergy at Rome itself began to use them; and until the last century, perhaps even now, some few churches, like those of Lyons and Vienne in France, admitted into their breviary no other hymns than the one at complin.⁴⁸ That our Anglo-Saxon brethren were

friend Cuthbert, for whom he had drawn up his little book, *De Arte Metrica*, at the end of which he says: *Hæc . . . tibi collecta obtuli, ut quemadmodum in divinis litteris statutisque ecclesiasticis imbuere studui, ita etiam metrica arte, quæ divinis non est incognita libris, te solerter instruerem* [*P.L.*, xc. 174]. Of the metrical compositions to be found in Holy Writ, Beda so speaks as to let us know he did not understand them to be what we now call hymns: *Hujus modulatio carminis miserorum querimoniarum congruit, ubi prior versus est hexameter, sequens pentameter. Quo genere metri ferunt canticum Deuteronomii apud Hebræos et Psalmos cxviii. et cxliv. esse descriptos. Nam librum Beati Job simpliciter hexametro scriptum esse asseverant.* [*Ibid.*, 163.]

⁴⁷ Granelolas, *Comment. Hist. in Breviarium Romanum*, 83.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 84, and *Voyages Liturgiques de France*, 10.

not slow in adopting these beautiful outpourings of the Christian poet, we know from one of Ælfric's enactments requiring each clerk to have, along with other volumes, a hymnar.⁴⁹ (14) Of such codices several early copies still exist in this country, showing us the Latin hymns overlined with an Anglo-Saxon translation ;⁵⁰ and in these precious manuscripts we find not only each of the canonical hours had its own hymn, but that many of these hymns changed with the occurring festival.⁵¹

For chanting the canonical hours, the practice followed by the Anglo-Saxons was the same yet kept in all collegiate churches. Divided into two bodies sitting opposite, face to face, in the choir, the clergy on one side sang the verses of the psalms alternately with those seated over against them.⁵²

If wayfaring, or something unforeseen, had hindered him from being with his brethren at public song-tide in the house of God, the devout Anglo-Saxon clergyman would halt before the first church upon his road, and, though its

⁴⁹ See note 58, further on.

⁵⁰ *The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, founded upon three of our best manuscripts, have been printed by the Surtees Society.

⁵¹ See the above work, *passim*.

⁵² Dulcibus antiphonæ pulsent accentibus aures,
Classibus et geminis psalmorum concrepat oda,
Hymnistæ crebro vox articulata resultat,
Et celsum quatiat clamoso carmine culmen.
—St. Aldhelm, *De Basilica ædif. a Bugga* [*P.L.*, lxxxix. 290].

Of Benet Biscop, as he lay in his last sickness, Beda tells us :

(15) doors were locked, go through the unsaid canonical hour at its threshold.⁵³ Often, too, did the bishop, as he rode about the country to see his flock, say the psalter aloud with his clerks, on horseback.⁵⁴ But

THE PEOPLE OFTEN JOINED IN THE CANONICAL HOURS.

If the church-bells rang, by night as well as day, to bid priests and clerks to come and sing their Maker's praises, many, too, among the Anglo-Saxon lay-folk, heard and answered that same call to prayer, and, going to the house of God, joined themselves in heart and word with the chanting

Et quia nullatenus ad orandum surgere, non facile ad explendum solitæ psalmodiæ cursum linguam uocemue poterat leuare, didicit uir prudens, affectu religionis dictante, per singulas diurnæ sive nocturnæ orationis horas aliquos ad se fratrum uocare, quibus psalmos consuetos duobus in choris resonantibus, et ipse cum eis quatenus poterat psallendo, quod per se solum nequiuerat, eorum iuuamine suppleret.—*Hist. Abbat.*, 12 [Plummer, i. 376]

⁵³ Venerunt incedentes per viam ad æcclesiam beato Papæ Gregorio consecratam. Ibique subsistens episcopus dixit beato Dunstano, "Compleamus hic apud oratorium sancti Patris nostri Gregorii nostram completorii horam" (*Vita S. Dunstani*, ab auctore cœvo, *A.A. SS. Maji*, iv. 349) [*R.S.*, lxiii. 15]. Contigit ergo his impediētibz curis, ipsum horis vespertinalibus abesse, et cum psallentibus more solito non fuisse catervis : ipso tamen finiti diei crepusculo, cum se sequentibus scolasticis, ibat ad jam obseratam ecclesiam ut tardatum compleret officium. Et dum foris ante ostium ecclesiæ psallendi gratia staret, vidit, etc.—*Ibid.*, 350 [*R.S.*, 18, 19].

⁵⁴ Such was St. Wulstan's wont : Equo quocumque vadens psalterium frequentabat, orationales versus qui occurrirent ad fastidium concantantis crebro repetens. — Wil. Malmesb., *Gesta Pontif. Anglor.*, iv. 140 [*R.S.*, lii. 282].

choir. Always did our great and glorious king Alfred carry about him his book of hours, hidden beneath the folds of his garments, on his bosom; and, while his daily wont was to hear holy mass, often likewise did he steal by night away from his household and bed, and went unknown to church to say his prayers, and sing uht-song or matins, with the clergy.⁵⁵

(16) Though the going to hear the canonical hours at church on week days was left to each one's own devotion, the doing so upon Saturday evenings and Sunday mornings amounted to a religious obligation. Among our Anglo-Saxons the hallowing of the Sunday began with Saturday afternoon's service;⁵⁶ hence all were taught how "It is very highly fitting, that every Christian man very reverently honour that day; and it is fitting that every Christian man, who can accomplish it, come to church on Saturday, and bring light with him, and there hear even-song,

⁵⁵ Cursum diurnum, id est, celebrationes horarum, ac deinde psalmos quosdam, et orationes multas quos in uno libro congregatos in sinu suo die noctuque (sicut ipsi vidimus) secum inseparabiliter orationis gratia inter omnia præsentis vitæ curricula ubique circumducebat.—Asser, *De Rebus gest. Ælfredi*, ed. Wise, 16. Divina quoque ministeria et missam scilicet, quotidie audire psalmos quosdam et orationes, et horas diurnas, et nocturnas celebrare, et ecclesias nocturno tempore, ut diximus (*ibid.*, 41) orandi causa, clam a suis adire solebat et frequentabat.—*Ibid.*, 44.

⁵⁶ Et solenne diei Dominice conservetur, ab hora nona Sabbati usque ad lucidum diei Lune (*Leges Regis Eadgari*, in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 508). "And let Sunday's festival be held from the noon of Saturday until the dawn of Monday; and every mass-day's festival," &c.—*Ibid.*, 363.

and before dawn, uht-song (matins), and in the morning come with their offerings to the celebration of the Mass."⁵⁷ A list of

THE SERVICE-BOOKS FOR THE LITURGY AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS

might easily be drawn up from the chance notices of such codices to be found amid the records of their times. Ælfric says :—" He (the mass-priest) shall also have for the (17) spiritual work, before he be ordained, these weapons ; that is, these holy books ; the psalter, and epistle-book, gospel-book, and mass-book, song-book (our breviary), and hand-book, numeral, and pastoral, penitential, and reading-book. These books the mass-priest should necessarily have, &c."⁵⁸ And among the books bequeathed to the cathedral of Exeter by its Anglo-Saxon bishop Leofric, were several of such volumes.⁵⁹ The whole series of that liturgical

⁵⁷ *Ecclesiastical Institutes, ibid.*, 421.

⁵⁸ *Canons of Ælfric*, in Thorpe, *ibid.*, ii. 351. Long before Ælfric's time, Archbishop Ecgberht had given the same advice : Nunc ergo o fratres qui voluerit sacerdotalem auctoritatem accipere ; In primitus propter deum cogitet et preparat arma ejus, ante quam manus episcopi tangat caput ; Id est psalterium, lectionarium, antifonarium, missale, baptisterium, martyrologium, in anno circuli ad predicationem cum bonis operibus, et compotum cum cyclo.—*Egbert Pontifical*, pref. xiii. xiv.

⁵⁹ They were : ii. fulle mæsse bec, and i. collectaneum, and ii. pistel-bec, and ii. fulle sang-bec, and i. niht-sang, and i. ad te leuau, and i. tropere, and ii. salteras, and se priddan saltere swa man singð on Rome and ii. ymneras, and i. deorwyrðe blotsing-boc, and iii. oðre, and ii. sumer ræding-bec, and i. winter ræding-

service which Austin brought with him from Pope Gregory, for the newly-planted corner of the Church among the Anglo-Saxons, was contained in two great works: the Antiphoner, and the Book of the Sacraments. In the Antiphoner were set down not only all the canonical hours, both in their nightly and daily courses, but every thing that the clergy had to sing in the choir while the priest was offering up, at the altar, the holy sacrifice of the mass: along therefore with the words, might be found the (18) music to which they were to be chanted. The Book of the Sacraments contained not only the ordinary form of the mass, and whatever belonged to its celebration throughout the year; but, besides this, it had in it the forms of the other six sacraments, and the rubrics for their administration. As may be supposed, the Antiphoner and the Sacramentary were works of too unwieldy a bulk to keep, for any length of time, their first size: both of them got broken up, and each of their constituent parts was made to form, by itself, a small and handy liturgical codex. Out of the Antiphoner, even when it had already been apportioned into four volumes,⁶⁰

boc, and *Regula canonicorum* and *Martyrologium*, and .i. canon on Leden, and .i. scift-boc on Englisc, and .i. full spel-boc wintres and sumeres, &c.—Kemble, *Cod. Dipl. Anglo-Sax.*, iv. 275. Cf. *Leofric Missal*, *Introd.*, xxii., xxiii. (ed. Warren).

⁶⁰ *Inventa copia antiphonariorum, id est, tria volumina de nocturnali officio, et quartum quod solummodo continebat diurnale.*—*Amalarius, De Ordin. Antiphonarii*, prolog., Hittorp, 503.

came forth the full song-book or whole service for the canonical hours, and which was called in old Catholic England the "portous," but now the "breviary"—the summer reading-book or-lessons at matins, &c. throughout summer and autumn, and the winter reading-book, the same for winter-tide and spring—the responsorial or book of responses—the antiphoner, strictly so called, having in it the anthems sung during the canonical hours—the collectaneum, or book of the collects—the graduale, having in it the introits, the graduals, the tracts, &c. sung by the choir at mass (a book the Romans called "cantatorium,"⁶¹ the Anglo-Saxons "Ad te (19) levavi," because those are the words of the introit for the first Sunday in Advent with which this codex begins, the English, Grail). The Sacramentary became subdivided into the full mass-book, or missal properly so named—the pontifical, or book for those rites which a bishop only may perform⁶²—a blessing-book, or the different forms of episcopal blessing bestowed upon the people solemnly at mass each Sunday and festival in the year⁶³—the hand-book, or form for

⁶¹ Notandum est, volumen quod nos vocamus Antiphonarium, tria habere nomina apud Romanos. Quod dicimus Gradale, illi vocant Cantatorium: qui adhuc juxta morem antiquum apud illos in aliquibus ecclesiis in uno volumine continetur. Sequentem partem dividunt in duobus nominibus: pars quæ continet responsorios, vocatur Responsoriale; et pars quæ continet antiphonas, vocatur Antiphonarius.—*Ibid.*, 504.

⁶² Called by the Council of Chalkhythe, *Liber Ministerialis*, as we before noticed, vol. i. 143.

the administrations of the priesthood in those sacraments and blessings which they are allowed to give.

Besides these, there were other liturgical codices in use among Anglo-Saxon churchmen. From the subdeacon upwards, every clerk must have either known by heart,⁶³ or possessed a codex of, the psalter with its rubrics to show what psalms were to be said at matins, lauds, and even-song, each day throughout the week. The "numeral" was a calendar or directory which told the variations in the canonical hours and the mass, caused by saints' days and festivals. The penitential, a book which only shrift-fathers or priests who heard shrifts (that is, confessions) might read,⁶⁵ contained the penances decreed by the Church for the different kinds of sin. The *pastorale*, St. Gregory's work, and the "*regula canoniorum*," were each a looking-glass, as it were, in which the clerk was to behold what manner of man, to be worthy of his calling, he ought to make himself. No sooner was the use (20) of metrical compositions allowed in the several canonical hours and at the holy sacrifice, than the codices wherein they were written, became requisites: the song-book corresponded with the Salisbury

⁶³ One of such codices, the *Benedictional of Æthelwold* (mentioned before, vols. i. pp. 24, 152; ii. p. 78), is among the most beautiful manuscripts in this or any other country.

⁶⁴ See vol. iii. p. 4.

⁶⁵ *Excerpt. Egberti*, in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 97.

portous and the Roman breviary; the hymnar contained those various hymns chanted at matins, lauds, prime, tierce, sext, none, even-song, and complin, all the year round; and the troper was a book having in it, besides other things, those verses to be sung along with the introit, the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria in excelsis*, the *Sanctus*, and the *Agnus Dei*, on the high festivals and chief saints' days in the calendar. Since of all these books, the only one now quite fallen into disuse, is

THE TROPER,

it may not be amiss to let the reader know what that liturgical codex contained, and the origin of its contents.

As those metrical compositions which, in contradistinction to the canticles of Holy Writ, we call hymns, were not sung, during the first ages, at any of the canonical hours, so neither was any kind of metre allowed in the solemnisation of mass. Towards the second half of the eighth century our own Alcuin had awakened among churchmen a strong and abiding taste for liturgical studies: our far-famed countryman was the first who drew up a list of masses to be said on each day of the week;⁶⁶ and ever since till now, the Church has gone on sanctioning this ritual practice, upholding it particularly as regards the

⁶⁶ See vols. i. p. 63; iii. p. 154.

mass of the B. V. Mary for Saturdays. By his old schoolfellow Eanbold, made archbishop of York, Alcuin was sent in A.D. 781 to Rome to fetch him back the pall (21) from Adrian I. The Roman pontiff and the Anglo-Saxon monk became warm friends, and both having kindred likings and a taste for the same sort of studies, Alcuin, who was so able, helped Adrian in a revision of the Antiphoner, an undertaking which, most likely, he had been himself the first to whisper into that pontiff's ear.

Long before Alcuin's time, had there crept into the ritual for high mass some customs which, though few and unimportant, are not without a certain interest. Of these, one was, at most of the festivals,—by way of showing the Church's gladness upon that particular occasion,—to keep on singing the last syllable in the *Alleluia* at the end of the gradual, for many minutes; and this drawing out of the notation for the *Alleluia*, they called the sequence. Another of these customs was to sing, besides this long chant of wordless notes, a rhythmical composition termed a "prose," in further honour of the occurring more solemn feast. A third practice which had also grown up, especially in the north and western quarters of Christendom, was that of weaving certain pious sentences, called by the Romans "festive praises," by the Franks "tropes," between the words of the psalm in the introit at mass, as well as all through

the *Gloria in excelsis*, the *Sanctus*, and the *Agnus Dei*.

On all lower feast days the sequence, that is, the gradual *Alleluia*, with what would now be called its many bars of notes, was sung: on all higher festivals, besides this sequence, the rhythm called the prose, which generally consisted of between twenty and thirty verses, was likewise chanted. This long long roll of notation for the sequence, afterwards, in St. Osmund's times, got to be thought wearisome; it therefore became shortened, little by little, till at last this music for the *Alleluia* at the gradual, in losing its length-someness, also lost its name. As, (22) however, the proses had always been loved by our people, they were not laid aside. But filling up, as they seemed to do, the room of the olden notation for the *Alleluia*, these proses dropped their own name, and took that of "sequence," under which those rhythms are known even now.

Through the sloth or forgetfulness however of the singers, the above-mentioned ritual practices were let to slip almost out of use, when Adrian I., at the warm beseechings of Alcuin, as well as to yield to the wishes of Charlemagne, brought them back again, especially with regard to the proses, or, as we now call them, the sequences, for which both our Anglo-Saxon monk and his friend and pupil, the Frankish emperor, had shown so strong a fondness.⁶⁷ This was not all: at the beginning

(23) of the Antiphoner—as sent out after revision by Adrian I.—were some hexameters to the memory, and in praise, of St. Gregory the Great.⁶⁷ These verses, according to a practice followed on a few other occasions, used to be sung before, and not mixed up with, the introit, on the first Sunday in Advent :⁶⁸ as on that day commences the eccle-

⁶⁷ Hic (Adrianus Papa II., A.D. 867–872) constituit per monasteria ad missam majorem in solemnitatibus præcipuis, non solum in hymno angelico, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, canere hymnos interstinctos quos “Laudes” appellant, verum etiam in psalmis Davidicis quos “Introitus” dicunt, interserta cantica decantare quæ Romani “Festivas Laudes,” Franci “Tropos” appellant: quod interpretatur “Figurata ornamenta in laudibus Domini.” Melodias quoque ante Evangelium concinendas tradidit quas dicunt “Sequentias”; quia sequitur eas Evangelium. Et quia a Domino Papa Gregorio primo et postmodum ab Adriano una cum Aleuino abbate delicioso magni imperatoris Caroli, hæ cantilenæ festivales constitutæ accommodatæ fuerant, multum in his delectato supradicto Cæsare Carolo, sed negligentia cantorum jam intermitteri videbantur, ab ipso almifico præsule (Adriano II.) de quo loquimur ita corroboratæ sunt ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri J. C. (*Vita Hadriani II.*, in the *Liber Pontificalis*, quoted by Lebœuf, *Traité historique sur le Chant ecclésiastique*, p. 103, &c., from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque du Roi, at Paris). Neither the Vatican, nor the other manuscripts upon which the two Vignoli, uncle and nephew, founded their valuable edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, are whole in the life of Adrian II.; not so the Paris codex, which gives that pontiff’s acts entire, and for the knowledge of which we are indebted to the above-named learned French ecclesiastic.

⁶⁸ Hic (Adrianus II.) antiphonarium Romanum, sicut anterior Adrianus, diversa per loca corroboravit, et secundum prologum versibus hexametris ad missam majorem in die primo Adventus Domini J. C. decantandum instituit, qui similiter incipit sicut anterioris Adriani procemium quod ille ad omnes missas in eadem dominica prima Adventus decantandum strictissimum confecerat; sed pluribus iste constat versibus.—*Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁶⁹ These hexameters, the first of which are:

Gregorius præsul, meritis et nomine dignus

Unde genus ducit, summum conscendit honorem, &c.,

siastical year, it was deemed fitting that the very first service in a book like the Antiphoner, which, for its arrangement and musical notation, owed so much to the care of that illustrious pope, St. Gregory, should begin with a thankful remembrance of him and his holy labours. Hence happened it, that to sing high mass on any festival, with all the solemnities due to such a day, besides the (24) Antiphoner, it became necessary to employ the troper,⁷⁰ or codex, which had in it,—along with what of old were known as the sequences and proses,—also the introits, the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria in excelsis*, the *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei*, each mixed with words peculiar to the occasion, and meant by the Church to tell her feelings, at that time, of love, or gladsomeness, or thanksgiving, as it might be.

Alcuin, it is allowed, was the best scholar in Europe of his own times, and stood, in the world's estimation, as high for his poetical as he did for every other kind of composition. Are we not then warranted in thinking that, not only the

may be found at the beginning of most of the early codices of the Roman Antiphoner: those which Tomasi gives (*Opp.*, ed. Vezzosi, v. 1) no doubt furnish us with Pope Adrian I.'s "præmium," lengthened, as we learn, from the manuscript quoted in our last note, by his namesake and aftercomer, Adrian II.

⁷⁰ *Hæ cantilenæ festivales . . . ab ipso almifico præsule (Adriano II.) de quo loquimur ita corroboratæ sunt ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri J. C., ut diligentia studiosorum cum antiphonario simul deinceps et troparius in solemnibus diebus ad missam majorem cantilenis frequenteter honestis.*—*Liber Pontif.*, quoted by Lebœuf, *Traite hist.*, &c., p. 104.

verses at the head of Adrian's revised Antiphoner, but also those tropes and proses (now called sequences), scattered over it, and which, when picked out and written in a book by themselves, formed what was called the "Troper," came from the pen of our learned and liturgical Anglo-Saxon countryman? Be it so or not, this one thing is undoubted, that to Alcuin the troper of the middle ages owed a great deal; and in Alcuin do we behold the earliest discovered writer of those rhythms known to us as sequences.⁷¹

(25) Since among liturgical rarities, a troper is one of the rarest, our readers may therefore like to see a few extracts, which will show, at one glance, what those old tropes were, and how they used to be twined and threaded into the words of the daily service. Of Anglo-Saxon tropers, a copy was (perhaps yet is) in the library of St. Bavon's, Ghent; another is to be found amid that splendid collection at the Bodleian. Extracts from the codex in Belgium have been given by Pamelius;⁷² and the following are drawn from the very valuable

⁷¹ The passage we gave just now (note 67), from the Paris manuscript, with the life of Adrian II. in its entire form, while it overthrows the learned Cardinal Bona's opinion (*Rer. Liturg.*, ii. 3, 6), that the monk of St. Gall, Notker (c. A.D. 904), was the inventor of sequences, helps us to win that liturgical honour for Anglo-Saxondom and Alcuin.

⁷² At the end of his *Liturgicon*, ii. 611. From what Pamelius says in his preface to the first volume (fol. iv.), it would seem that the sequences were accompanied by an Anglo-Saxon translation.

Oxford manuscript.⁷³ As a specimen of an introit, may be taken this :

DOMINICA DIE PALMARUM.

*Israhel egregius psaltes, clarusque propheta. Sic quondam Christo dauid cantauerat almus, Domine ne longe. Sed celeri succurre mihi pietate paterna, Ad defensionem. (26) Qui cupit insontem morsu lacerare ferino : Et a cornibus. Ps. Deus deus meus respice.*⁷⁴

The *Kyrie eleison*, &c., was thus mixed with the tropes: *Xp̄e redemptor miserere nobis, Kyrieleison eia omnes dicite, Kirrieleison, Kirrieleison, Kirrieleison.*

O bone rex qui super astra sedes et domine qui cuncta gubernas eleison. Xp̄e eleison. Xp̄e eleison. Tua deuota plebs implorat iugiter ut

⁷³ Under the press-mark, *Bod.* 775. From one of the supplications in the litany : *Ut Æthelredum regem et exercitum Anglorum conservare digneris* (fol. 18^v), this codex must have been written out some time during Ætheldred II.'s reign, which lasted between A.D. 976-1016. Each of the "proses," which are at the latter end of the manuscript, had, at first, its own music written over every word. Now, however, there are several of these proses, in which the old notation has been scratched out, and three red lines ruled. Upon these lines other notes have been pricked. But this second way of writing music is later than Guido d'Arezzo's times. These alterations have been so nicely done, that some liturgical students might easily be led into the supposition that the beginning of this codex had been written a long while before the latter portions. [See the edition of the Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. viii., *The Winchester Troper*, and Frère, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, i. 69].

⁷⁴ *Winchester Troper*, 16.

*illi digneris eleison, Kirrieleison, Kirrieleison, Kirrieleison.*⁷⁵

The verses scattered through the angelic hymn were made to speak the feelings of the Church at the occurring festival; for example, at Christmas it was sung thus:

*Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bone uoluntatis. Pax sempiterna Christus illuxit gloria tibi pater excelse: Laudamus te. Hymnum canentes hodie quem terris angeli fuderunt Christo nascente. Benedicimus te, &c.*⁷⁶

At the beginning of the different then called sequences, that is, chants for the *alleluia* at the gradual, we have this rubric: "Here for thee, the chanter, are all the sequences at hand which in their fair order are sung in the course of the year."⁷⁷ On some of the greater festivals, along with this *alleluia* (27) were joined a few words bespeaking the dignity of the day, or the honour of the saint, [or the name of the melody], thus, *Beatus vir Stephanus, alleluia*, with a very long

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 47. Besides the above, there are twelve other forms of the *Kyrie*, with the appropriate variations; and the rubric at the head of the first is: *Incipiunt laude preces, quæ uoce latina hoc resonant, Misere tuis O Christe misellis.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 54. Then follow twelve other "laudes," for the *Gloria in excelsis*, and the rubric says: *Incipiunt Sancti modulamina dulciter ymni. Quem cecinere chori Christo nascente superni.* At p. 60 we have: *Hymnus Angelicus Græca lingua compositum.* It is also given in the MS. at fol. 28, with its music in Anglo-Saxon notation, as well as at fol. 72.

⁷⁷ *Hic tibi cantori sunt cuncta sequentia præsto*

Que circulo annorum modulantur ordine pulchro. Ibid., 70.

notation to it : *Justus Johannes ut palma florebit in cælo*,⁷⁸ in the same manner.

After these sequences came the *prosæ*, or proses, a kind of composition which, though the name may seem to us now to mean that they were unfettered by any law of scansion, were, nevertheless, written after some rule, if not indeed of the stubborn classic, yet of that easy, bending prosody set up in the middle ages, which sought for rhyming cadences rather than rhythm. The rubrics scattered through these proses show that, to each great festival of the year there was allotted its own, and that they used to be sung just after the sequence: *Incipiunt prosæ. De Nativitate Domini, Alleluia.*

Celica resonent clare camenas agmina
Nunc regis celebrande gratulanter nuptias
Lux nova jam terras illustrat veteres pellens tenebras.⁷⁹

Prosa ad sequentiam, Cithara, De Ascensione Dñi.

Rex omnipotens die hodierna
Mundo triumphali redempto potentia, &c.⁸⁰

Prosa ad seq., In omnem terram, alleluia.

Laude jucunda melos, turma, persona, &c.⁸¹

Prosa de omnibus sanctis ad Preciosa, alleluia.

Alme cælorum turmæ concrepent alleluia
In die hac sacrosancta sanctis omnibus splendida
Que nobis extat annua sed his est continua.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, vii. 72.

⁷⁹ *Analecta Hymnica*, vii. 21.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, vii. 183.

Celsa angelorum agmina laude iocunda Xpo resultant organa,
Mundanaque modulamina jam nunc intonant preconia cum
letitia, &c.

Followed by more than twenty other verses.⁸³

(28) For the *Sanctus* we have :

*Sanctus. Admirabilis splendor inaccessibilisque
lux Pater Deus. Sanctus. Verbum quod erat in
principio apud Deum. Sanctus Dominus. Para-
clitus utriusque Spiritus. Deus Sabaoth, &c.*⁸³

At the *Agnus Dei* there is a like mixture of
verses.⁸⁴

After its canonical hours, and church-books,

THE MISSAL RITES

of the Anglo-Saxon liturgy ask our next attention.

As their strong love for their mother in belief,
the apostolic see, had led the bishops of Anglo-
Saxondom, as early as the council of Clovesho
(A.D. 747)⁸⁵ to decree the adoption of the Roman
ceremonial, those rubrics themselves laid down
by Rome in those times, and the commentaries
on them, will show us what must have been the
ritual observances during the same period in this
country.

Of the altar, shrouded in its purple pall, over-
spread by white linen cloths, we have before

⁸³ *Analecta Liturgica*, 441.

⁸³ *Winchester Troper*, 65, 66, and rubricated: *Incipiunt laudes
ad dulcia cantica Sanctus.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 67, headed by: *Incipiunt laudes resonant quae dulciter
Agnus, Qui ueniens peccata pius tulit impia mundi.*

⁸⁵ See note 1, p. 1, of this volume.

spoken.⁸⁶ If, upon the hallowed board itself, there stood no candlesticks, hard by it, at least, lighted tapers were to be seen burning throughout the holy sacrifice; for it had been enacted that always there should be burning lights in the church while mass was sung.⁸⁷ Very likely these candles were set upon those beautiful ornamented metal hoops called crowns, and hung from the church's roof. With a crowd of clerks, among whom seven acolytes carried each his burning (29) taper, and other three, as many kindled thuribles,—with seven,⁸⁸ five, or three deacons,⁸⁹ and the same number of subdeacons,—the bishop, arrayed in his chasuble, and having the book of the gospels borne before him, just at the moment that the choir began to sing the introit, walked forth into church, and on reaching the foot of the altar bowed himself lowly down, along with all his ministers, in worship of the divine Eucharist, which had been brought thither, and placed upon the holy table. Having blessed himself with the sign of

⁸⁶ Vol. i. pp. 211, 212.

⁸⁷ Thorpe, *Ancient Laws of England*, ii. 253.

⁸⁸ Beda must have had before his eye these seven deacons, when he said: *Hinc jam decreverunt apostoli, vel successores apostolorum, per omnes Ecclesias septem diaconos, qui sublimiori gradu essent cæteris, et proximi circa aram quasi columnæ altaris assisterent, et non sine aliquo septenarii numeri mysterio.*—*In Acta Apost.*, vi. [*P.L.*, xcii. 956]. That more than one deacon officiated on Good Friday, is clear from a rubric in the Leofric missal, which we have given in another part of this work (vol. i. p. 109, note 9).

⁸⁹ Amalarius, *De Ecc. Offic.*, iii. 5; Hittorp, 401.

the cross, he bestowed the kiss of peace upon all the deacons, and, going up the steps to the altar, kissed it, as well as the book of the gospels, which had been laid there wide open; then, walking up to his chair, he stood by it, having his seven deacons about him, while the subdeacons stayed below in the presbytery; and,



Corona above the Altar.

behind them, the seven acolytes, who, as soon as the *Kyrie* began, lowered their candlesticks, and put them in a row, from north to south, upon the floor. Two of the chanters,—known afterwards in St. Osmund's rite as the rulers of the choir,—at the proper time, uplifting their voices, sang together a call unto the bishop, bidding him to intone the angelic hymn: *Cantores gemini resonant hæc verba canentes. Sacerdos dei excelsi, ueni ante sanctum et sacrum*

altare & in laude regis regum uocem tuam (30) emitte; supplices te deprecamur, eia dic domine.⁹⁰ Turning himself about to the people as he stood at the altar, the bishop then gave out the *Gloria in excelsis*, which was taken up and ended by the choir. This hymn being sung, the bishop, with his face still beholding his flock, wished them peace in these words, *Pax vobis*; and then turning about, so as to look towards the east, he sang the collect, holding his outstretched hands uplifted all the while of this and other such prayers.⁹¹ After the collect, the bishop sat down, the acolytes shifted their seven candlesticks, so that they might stand east and west, and one of the subdeacons went up into the ambo, or pulpit, on the south side of the choir, where he read, in a sort of chant, the epistle, during which all sat down.⁹² Then the

⁹⁰ *Winchester Troper*, 54. See note 73, p. 28, for a description of this important manuscript.

⁹¹ Unde corpus illius (Elphegi, archiep. Cantuar. et martyris) tanta attenuatum est macie, ut tempore sancti sacrificii, cum manus ecclesiastico more tensas in altum porrigeret, per medias palmarum juncturas claritas æris perspicui posset.—Osbern, *Vita S. Elphegi*, AA. SS. *Aprilis*, ii. 634. When Byron sang of Francesca's ghost on the shore at Corinth:

“Once she raised her hand on high;
It was so wan and transparent of hue,
You might have seen the moon shine through;”

little did he dream that this beautiful thought of the transparent hand had been, eight hundred years ago, forestalled by a Canterbury monk.

⁹² Amalarius, *De Eccl. Offic.*, iii. 10, Hittorp, 407.

precentor, standing on the lower step of this same ambo, intoned the gradual; and afterwards, if the solemnity of the day allowed it, the sequence, or prose, was also sung. The gospel followed, every thing belonging to the singing of which was done with much of the ritual's splendours. (31) The *textus*, or *evangeliarium*, was always beautiful, often quite magnificent. Though no other parts of Holy Writ were in this codex but the four gospels, whence the Anglo-Saxons called it "Christ's Book," still, of itself, it made a tall and bulky tome. Sometimes not a few of its leaves were dyed purple, whereon the writing was traced in golden or silver characters, and many a page glowed with elaborate and dazzling illuminations. Sheets of gold, studded with large pearls and precious stones, were not thought too good to be its binding.⁹³ Kneeling at the bishop's feet,—which he kissed, and then craved a blessing,—the deacon

⁹³ By far the most gorgeous and beautiful *evangeliarium* I have ever yet beheld is now in England, in that truly magnificent collection of manuscripts belonging to, and brought together by, one of our peers. This large glorious codex is bound between two plates of the purest gold, both of which are exquisitely worked; one side, as is usual, is much more elaborately wrought than the other, and for this reason, that it alone could be seen while the deacon was carrying the volume in procession to the pulpit or ambo. This upper side is figured with a crucifixion in low relief, and our Redeemer's head is crowned with a royal diadem—not with thorns. The whole surface glistens with pearls and gems curiously and admirably set. This binding is a sample of goldsmith work in the eleventh century; but the manuscript within it is of an earlier date.

who was about to sing the gospel, arose and went to the altar, and kissed the *evangeliarium* which lay there, and taking up that *textus* (always large in size, and often quite heavy with its beautiful adornments), leaned it against his right shoulder athwart his breast, and so carried it to the ambo on the north side of the choir. Thither went before him two acolytes with their tapers, and two subdeacons with thuribles sending forth clouds of incense: the former stopped below, and put their candlesticks on the ground; the (32) latter walked through the ambo, mounting by one flight of stairs, and going down by the other. When he got into the ambo the deacon, with his face towards the men's side, or south, hailed all present in these words, *Dominus vobiscum*; then, making the sign of the cross upon his forehead and breast, as did every one in church, he gave out from what evangelist the gospel he was about to sing was taken.⁹⁴ While this procession was on its way from the altar, all had risen to their feet and stood bareheaded; and such among the old and weakly as might have been leaning until then upon their staves, laid them down. The gospel having been chanted by the

⁹⁴ At the beginning of every book of the gospels, in the celebrated Durham codex (*Nero D.IV.*), there is a list of those festivals the gospels for which are taken out of that particular evangelist. In the published Anglo-Saxon versions, rubrics, to say at what part of the chapter the gospel of each particular day begins, are written all through the text.

deacon, one of the subdeacons took the codex, and going first to the bishop, held it open up for him to kiss, and afterwards carried it about to all the clergy as well as to the people, for them to bestow a like mark of love and reverence upon Christ's book. At this part of the liturgy, the acolytes' seven tapers were all blown out; and the sermon was preached.⁹⁵ (33) Then came the *Credo*,⁹⁶ which was no sooner intoned by the bishop than the thuribles were carried waving about the altar; and, as the fragrant cloud floated by him, each one drew some of its smoke, with his hand, towards his nostrils. When the *Dominus vobiscum* and the *Oremus* had been said, the offertory was chanted by the choir. The subdeacon now came forth, bearing in his right arm the paten, in his left the chalice, upon which lay the linen cloth called the "corporal," or "winding-sheet," which the deacon took off, and having unfolded it, threw one of its ends to the second deacon, so that both of them

⁹⁵ Ut omnibus festis et diebus Dominicis unusquisque sacerdos Evangelium Christi prædicet populo.—*Excerpt. Egberti*, in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 98.

His ille (B. Dunstanus) alloquiis cæterisque prædicamentis salubribus ter sub una diei ipsius celebratione commissorum corda affatim permonuit: primo enim ut ecclesiasticus ordo post lectionis Evangelium jure insinuat; secundo post gratuitam collatæ sibi potestatis benedictionem; tertio vero post piæ pacis conferentiam quando communi carmine cecinimus, "Agnus Dei Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis."—*Vita S. Dunstani*, ab auctore cœvo, *AA. SS. Maji*, iv. 358 [*R.S.*, lxiii. 51].

⁹⁶ The Nicene creed is, in more instances than one, called by the Anglo-Saxons the "mass-creed."—Thorpe, *Ancient Laws, &c.*, ii. 334, 344.

could spread it out smoothly over the altar. Waited on by the elder clergy, the bishop now walked down to the edge of the presbytery, and took from the people's selves their offerings of bread and wine, which they brought to him,⁹⁷ having their hands muffled up in a very clean fine linen cloth or offering-sheet. The men first, and then the women, came with their cake and their cruse of wine. The bread-offerings the bishop handed to a subdeacon, who dropped them into a sheet, or a dish, carried by two acolytes;⁹⁸ the wine to the archdeacon, who poured it into (34) a large chalice held near him by another subdeacon. Going to his chair, the bishop, after washing his hands,⁹⁹ sat down,

⁹⁷ The *Ecclesiastical Institutes* say that it is fitting for all Christian men on Sunday morning to come to church with their offerings, to the celebration of mass.—*Ancient Laws*, ii. 421.

⁹⁸ Such sheets and dishes were thought worth being given and received as bequests: thus Queen Ælfgyfu (A.D. 1012) leaves by will, annæ offering disc into Nunna mynstaer;—Kemble, *Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.*, iii. 360; and in Wynflæd's will (A.D. 995) we read that: Hio becwið into Cyrcean hyre beteran ofringsceat.—*Ib.*, vi. 130.

⁹⁹ At his ordination the subdeacon received a basin, ewer, and towel, to tell him one part of his ministry at the altar would be to help at the washing of the celebrant's hands. Besides being made of the precious metals, these basins and ewers must, at times, have been beautiful as works of art. St. Dunstan, among other things, bestowed upon Malmesbury minster a fine one, which bore upon it these verses:—In hydriola quam, ut ministris altaris lympham funderet, fabricari fecerat (S. Dunstanus), hæc vidimus metricè scripta:

Idriolam hanc fundi Dunstan mandaverat archi-
Præsul, ut in templo sancto serviret Aldhelmo.

—*Vita S. Aldhelmi*, in *AA. SS. Maji*, vi. 90. William of Malmesbury gives the same verses, *Gesta Pontif.*, v. 255 [*R.S.*, lii. 407].

while the archdeacon put out upon the corporal as much bread, and wine mingled with a little water,¹ as would that day be wanted for the communion. When the altar had been thus got ready for him, the bishop went thither, and received from the priests and deacons their offering of bread without any wine; this done, he censed the sacred table, and turning about to the people, said, *Orate, fratres*—Pray, brethren, or words of the like meaning, to which all answered by repeating the second, third, and fourth verses of the xixth [xxth] psalm, or sentences to the same effect. In the mean while the deacons ranged themselves behind, the subdeacons before, the bishop. As the altar, in those days, as we have noticed,² used to stand by itself under a canopy, some little way from the church's eastern end, whether their numbers might have been three, five, or seven, the subdeacons could easily place themselves, at its further side, in front of the bishop, while the deacons stood behind his back, thus :

sd.	o	
sd.	o	
sd.	o	
*	—	*
*	*	*
B.	o	
d.	o	
d.	o	
d.	o	

(35) After saying to himself a prayer, which was hence called the "Secret," the bishop raised his voice, and began the Preface. At those

¹ Amalarius, *De Eccl. Offic.*, iii. 19, 417, Hitt. See also in this work, vol. i. p. 120.

² Vol. i. pp. 151, 152, of this work.

words, *Sursum corda*,³ in it, an acolyte, with his hands muffled in the folds of a veil or scarf, which hung about his shoulders, took from off the altar the paten, and so held this broad, shallow kind of dish until the *Te igitur*, or the first words of the canon, when he carried and gave it to one of the subdeacons, who held it, with his naked hands uplifted, at his place in front of the bishop, till the *Pater noster*.⁴ No sooner did the choir begin the *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*, after the Preface, than both the deacons and subdeacons bent their heads, and so stood keeping them bent—the deacons until the end of the *Pater noster*,⁵ or those words, *Libera nos a malo*⁶—the subdeacons till *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*.⁷

(36) The whole of the canon of the mass was uttered, not aloud, but to himself,⁸ by the bishop.

³ How St. Cuthbert used to be often stirred to tears at mass, the while, uplifting his voice, he began the preface, is beautifully told by the venerable Bede: *Tantum autem compunctioni erat deditus, tantum cœlestibus ardebat desideriis, ut missarum solemnia celebrans, nequaquam sine profusione lacrymarum implere posset officium. Sed congruo satis ordine dum passionis dominicæ mysteria celebraret, imitaretur ipse quod ageret, seipsum, videlicet, Deo in cordis contritione mactando, sed et adstantes populos sursum corda habere, et gratias agere Domino Deo nostro, magis ipse cor quam vocem exaltando, potius gemendo quam canendo admoneret.*—St. Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, xvi. [*P.L.*, xciv. 756].

⁴ *Ordo Romanus*, in Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, ii. 49.

⁵ Amalarius, *De Ecc. Offic.*, iii. 23, 420, Hittorp.

⁶ *Ib.*, 27, 429, Hitt.

⁷ *Ordo Rom.*, in Mabillon, ii. 49.

⁸ Amalarius, *Ecloga*, xxvii., in Georgi, *De Liturgia Rom. Pont.* iii. 363; and *De Ecc. Offic.*, iii. 23, 421, Hittorp.

In the early part of it he prayed for the pope, and for all then in church ;⁹ he brought to mind and honoured the memory of the B. V. Mary, the apostles, martyrs, and other saints, by whose merits and prayers he begged to be helped and defended ; in the latter part, he called upon God to be mindful of and take pity on, the souls of his dead brethren and friends, and all the faithful departed.

Whilst they stood yet bent, all the deacons washed their hands in water, which the acolytes brought them. As he said *Supplices Te rogamus*, the celebrant bowed himself down before the altar : at the words, *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, all the subdeacons uplifted their heads, and looked full in the bishop's face. After the *Per quem omnia*, the first deacon, raising himself upright, took with both his hands the two-handled chalice muffled in an offertory-towel, and held it up towards the bishop, who touched the inside of this chalice with the host, making at the same time two signs of the cross with the body over the blood in the chalice.¹⁰ At the end of the *Libera nos*, &c., this same head deacon, taking the paten, stretched it forth to the bishop's lips for being kissed, after which the same

⁹ Una cum beatissimo famulo tuo ih̄. et antistite nostro ih̄. et omnibus, &c. Such is the form in the Canon, in the *Leofric Missal* [60], for praying, first, for the Pope ; then, for the bishop of the diocese.

¹⁰ *Ordo Romanus*, in Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, ii. 42.

minister gave it into the hands of the second deacon, that he might hold it.¹¹

(37) It was just when this last prayer had been said, that among the Anglo-Saxons, as well as in several other parts of Christendom,—though not at Rome, nor where the Roman “ordo” was followed to the letter,—the bishop gave his benediction after a solemn manner, now laid aside.¹² Looking towards the people, the head deacon cried out, and said to them, “Bow yourselves down for the blessing,” and then gave the benedictional to the bishop, who held that codex in his left hand; and having read the form allotted for the day, bestowed his blessing on the bended crowd, after the usual fashion, with his uplifted right hand, the thumb and first two fingers of which were outstretched, but joined, as an emblem of one God in three persons.¹³ The

¹¹ Amal., *De Ecc. Offic.*, iii. 27, Hittorp 428.

¹² Nonnulli sacerdotes post dictam orationem dominicam statim communicant et postea benedictionem in populo dant, quod deinceps interdicimus: sed post orationem dominicam, et conjunctionem panis et calicis, benedictio in populum sequatur, et tunc demum corporis et sanguinis Domini sacramentum sumatur, &c.—*Concil. Tolet. IV.*, can. xviii. in Coleti, *Concil. Gen.* vi., 1457, Venet. 1728. From this canon of the IV. council of Toledo (A.D. 633) it would seem that in Spain all priests gave a blessing at this part of the mass.

¹³ Ille (archidiaconus) autem ut episcopus dicit, “Da propitius pacem,” patenam illi accommodans, humerum ejus osculetur, statimque episcopo dicente, “Per omnia secula seculorum,” accipiat benedictionalem librum, et conversus ad populum dicat, “Humiliate vos ad benedictionem,” et clero respondente, “Deo gratias,” porrigat episcopo librum. Expleta autem benedictione, veniens presbyter, accipiat pacem ab episcopo, eandem cæteris

wording of this episcopal benediction (38) varied with the Sunday and the festival, and was, often—though not always—gathered out of the day's gospel: sometimes it spoke the church's thankfulness for the mystery, sometimes it unfolded the ghostly meaning of the feast then celebrated. But that the reader may see the form of an old rite employed in the Sarum as well as the Anglo-Saxon use, we set before him the following—one for Christmas Day, the second for Maundy Thursday, the third for the festival of SS. Peter and Paul.

BENEDICTIO IN DIE NATALIS DOMINI.

Benedicat vos Omnipotens Deus vestramque ad superna excitet intentionem, qui hanc sacratissimam diem nativitate Filii sui fecit esse sollempnem. Amen.

Et qui eum qui panis est angelorum in presepi æcclesiæ cibum fecit esse fidelium animalium, ipse vos, et in presenti sæculo degustare faciat æternorum dulcedinem gaudiorum, et in futuro

oblaturus, &c. (*Ordo Romanus*, in Hittorp, *De Divin. Cathol. Eccl. Officiis*, p. 8). This "Ordo" was, no doubt, arranged for the use of some German cathedral, maybe that of Cologne; but in it we behold a likeness to the Anglo-Saxon rubric. An illumination on p. 116 at the end of Æthelwold's Benedictional, shows us the bishop in the act of giving his benediction as above described. [An illustration of this has been given already in this work; see vol. i. p. 152.] The instance of St. Dunstan's bestowing his blessing at high mass, just before the "pax" or kiss of peace, is mentioned in the extract from his life quoted just now, note 95, p. 37.

perducat ad satietatem æternorum premiorum.
Amen.

Quique ejus infantiam vilibus voluit indui
pannis, ipse vos cœlestium vestimentorum induat
ornamentis.

Quod ipse prestare dignetur cujus regnum et
imperium sine fine permanet in secula seculorum.
Amen.

Benedictio Dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti,
et pax Domini sit semper vobiscum.¹⁴

(39) BENEDICTIO IN CENA DOMINI.

Benedic quæsumus Domine universum hunc
populum ad cene convivium evocatum. Amen.

Protege eum tuæ scuto defensionis, pro quo
dignatus es opprobria sustinere passionis. Amen.

Defende eum a diri serpentis incursibus atque
a cunctis absolve sordibus qui in hac die pedes
discipulorum humiliata maiestate propriis lavasti
manibus. Amen.

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus qui in hac die
cum discipulis suis cenans, panem in corpus suum,
calicemque benedicens consecravit in sanguinem.
Amen.

Ipseque vos faciat pura conscientia mundaque
ab omni sorde peccati imminentem paschæ sollem-
nitatem cum exultatione placita sibi celebrare qui

¹⁴ *Egbert Pontifical*, 83.

cum discipulis discumbens desiderio in quid desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum. Amen.

Ipse mentem vestram sanctificet et vitam amplificet castimoniam decoret atque sensus vestros in bonis operibus semper ædificet. Amen.

Quod ipse præstare dignetur, &c.¹⁵

BENEDICTIO IN NATIVITATE APOSTOLORUM PETRI
ET PAULI.

Benedicat vos Deus, qui nos beati Petri saluberrima confessione in æcclesiasticæ fidei fundavit soliditate. Amen.

Et quos beati Pauli sanctissima instruxit predicatione, sua tueatur gratissima defensione. Amen.

Quatenus Petrus clave, Paulus sermone, utrique intercessionem, ad illam vos certent patriam introducere, ad quam illi, alter cruce, alter gladio, hodierna die pervenere. Amen.

Quod ipse. Amen. Benedictio, &c.¹⁶

(40) That such episcopal blessings formed a part of the old liturgy followed by the Gauls long before Pope St. Gregory's and St. Austin's days, we learn from the fact that St. Cæsarius of Arles,¹⁷ who

¹⁵ *Æthelwold Benedictional*, 76.

¹⁶ *Egbert Pontif.*, 87.

¹⁷ Ideo qui vult Missas ad integrum cum lucro animæ suæ celebrare, usquequo oratio Dominica dicatur, et benedictio populo detur, humiliato corpore et compuncto corde se debet in ecclesia continere.—St. Cæsarius, *Hom.* xii., in Binius, *Bib. Pat.* v., part iii., 757. Unius aut duarum horarum spatium patientiam habeamus, donec in illa spiritali mensa animarum cibus apponitur,

lived almost a whole century before those apostles of our Anglo-Saxon fathers, speaks of this rite as a thing practised everywhere about him. Knowing then, as we do, from the formal and public visit made to the church in this island by SS. Germanus and Lupus, how the British and the Gallic churches were knit together, not only by the feelings of religious friendship, but by the oneness of true belief, we are warranted in thinking that a ceremonial then in common use throughout a neighbouring country with which this land kept up such an intimate connection in matters of faith, must have been common here too; so that our bishops among the Britons, like their brethren beyond the sea in Gaul, used to bestow their episcopal blessing at this part of the holy sacrifice.

(41) After he had thus given his benediction, the bishop, at the words, *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*—The Peace of the Lord be with you evermore,—sent forth the kiss of peace. This he did by kissing, first, the altar, or the paten, then the head deacon; who carried this apostolic token of brotherly love and goodwill down to the

et sacramenta spiritalia consecrantur. Et quia præmissa oratione dominica benedictio vobis non ab homine sed per hominem datur, grato et pio animo, humiliato corpore et corde compuncto, rorem divinæ benedictionis accipite. — Id., *Hom.* VIII., in Gallandius; *Vet. Pat. Bib.*, xi. 12. A few years afterwards, it was enacted (A.D. 538) in the third council of Orléans: De Missis nullus laicorum antea discedat, quam dominica dicatur oratio, et si episcopus præsens fuerit, ejus benedictio expectetur. — *Concil. Aurelian.* III., can. xxix. in Coleti, *Concil. Gen.*, v. 1281.

next in rank ; and thus did it pass from one to the other among all those about the altar and in the choir.¹⁸ Thence went it unto the people ; from man to man on the men's side ; from woman to woman on the women's side ; as each sex stood apart by itself in the holy building.

The fragment that had been left from the mass last offered, was, before giving the *Pax*,¹⁹ put into the chalice by the bishop, who, from the host he had just then hallowed, broke off two small pieces, one of which he dropped into the chalice, the other he laid aside upon the altar, to be kept until the morrow or another day, when the holy sacrifice should be next celebrated. Thus a portion of the eucharist, under one kind alone, was always reserved in the church, from each mass to the other. Leaving the altar, the bishop went to his chair, and standing thereat received the eucharist, which was brought to him,—the body upon a wide paten, and the blood in a large chalice, out of which he drank through a golden or silver pipe or reed. [See illustration, vol. i. p. 331.] Along with him partook of this holy sacrifice all his attendant clergy and the singers, as well as very many among the people. No sooner had the celebrant walked to his chair, before he received the communion, than the choir began to sing *Agnus Dei*, &c., which was thrice repeated, and

¹⁸ Amal., *Ecloga*, xxx., in Georgi, iii. 369.

¹⁹ Amal., *De Ecc. Offic.*, iii. 31, Hittorp 432.

ended the third, as well as the other two times, with *Miserere nobis*.²⁰ After himself and the clergy had (42) received, he went down to distribute the holy communion to the lay-folks. As from off the paten, carried by two deacons, he took and gave to each person our Lord's body, our Lord's blood was presented to the same individual by the head deacon's allowing this communicant to sip up a small draught, through the reed, from out the large two-handled chalice, which that minister bore in both his hands as he followed close behind the bishop. All the while the eucharist was being thus distributed to the people, the choir sang the whole or part of a psalm, called, from that circumstance, the "Communion."

When all had thus partaken of the eucharist, the bishop returned to the altar, and, having read the prayer of thanksgiving,—then called "Ad complendum," now the "Post-communion,"—bestowed another blessing upon the crowd, whom one of the deacons afterwards told that, as the holy sacrifice was done, they might go away, as in a loud tone of voice he sang, *Ite, missa est*. With the seven candles borne before him by as many acolytes, and the thurible by a subdeacon, the bishop and his ministering clergy then left the

²⁰ Such is the form given in the *Leofric Missal*, 62 [but without any indication that it was to be sung three times; the *Canterbury Missal* at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, marks the repetition and the change to *Dona nobis pacem*. Ed. Rule, 44].

church, and went to do off their liturgical garments in the vestry.

With such a ceremonial used solemn high mass, as we have good reasons for thinking, to be celebrated among our Anglo-Saxon fathers, whenever a bishop pontificated. For the common week-day service, when the priest offered up the holy sacrifice in his parish church, after that way which we now call "low mass," the outline of the rubrics and the order of the prayers were exactly the same, and the only difference between these two forms of the liturgy was, that in the first there was much more of ritual splendour besides the crowd of ministering clergy.

The time for the parochial mass used to be, except on days of fasting, immediately after undern-song or tierce, (43) that is, about nine o'clock in the morning;²¹ and to eat any thing before this service had been ended at church, either on holydays or Sundays, was strictly forbidden. Hence, say the *Ecclesiastical Institutes*, "we command those mass-priests who, both on Sundays and other mass-days, wish to sing before

²¹ Beda incidentally tells us this as he speaks of the miraculous way in which the captive Imma's chains were loosed every morning his brother the priest said mass for his soul, thinking him to be dead:—*A tertia autem hora, quando missæ fieri solebant, sæpissime vincula solvebantur.*—*Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 22. Hence arose the custom of breakfasting at undern-time among the Anglo-Saxons, as Beda likewise lets us know: *Ut horam diei tertiam etiam cibo reficiendus expectaret, rogavit, ne si jejunos iret, &c. . . . expletis horæ tertiæ precibus vescendi tempus aderat, &c.*—*Vita S. Cuthberti*, vii. [*P.L.*, xciv. 743].

the high mass, that they do so privately, so that they draw off no portion of the people from the high mass . . . but we command that no man taste any meat before the service of the high mass be completed, but that all, both females and males, assemble at the high mass, and at the holy and spiritual church, and there hear the high mass and the preaching of God's word." ²²

Whether young or old, every woman came to church with a veil on her head. This we learn from Beda, who gives us the symbolic meaning for a custom yet followed in the southern countries of Europe; in obedience to the injunction of the Apostle (1 Cor. xi. 10), women cover their heads in church "because of the angels," who not only stood by the dead Body of our Saviour in His tomb, but are also present when that same holy Body is specially with us in the Holy Eucharist, after the prayer of consecration. ²³

(44) To give solemnity, and to bring as much grandeur as possible to the services of the church, music in both its kinds, vocal and instrumental, was not wanting. Winchester minster had an organ that would have rivalled in size the largest

²² Thorpe, *Ancient Laws of England*, ii. 449; and vol. i. p. 138 of this work.

²³ Quomodo autem posito in sepulchro corpori Salvatoris angeli astitisse leguntur, ita etiam celebrandis ejusdem sacratissimi corporis mysteriis tempore consecrationis assistere sunt credendi, monente Apostolo mulieres in Ecclesia velamen habere propter angelos—*Expos. Lucæ Evang.* xxiv., in *Opp.* ed. Giles, xi. 375 [*P.L.*, xcii. 623].

ones built in the present age: its double row of keys, its four hundred pipes, its twenty-six feeders, and the seventy strong men required to blow them; the soft sweetness of its tones, and its thunder-like peals of sound, which it could roll forth to be heard everywhere about the city, are all enumerated by Wolstan, the poet-monk, who had seen and often listened to it.²⁴ But this was not all:

²⁴ Talia et auxistis hic organa qualia nusquam
 Cernuntur, gemino constabilita solo.
 Bisseni supra sociantur in ordine folles
 Inferiusque jacent quatuor atque decem.
 Flatibus alternis spiracula maxima reddunt,
 Quos agitant validi septuaginta viri. . .
 Sola quadringentas quæ sustinet ordine musas
 Quas manus organici temperat ingenii. . .
 Considuntque duo concordi pectore fratres
 Et regit alphabetum rector uterque suum. . .
 Inque modum tonitrus vox ferrea verberat aures,
 Præter ut hunc solum nil capiat sonitum. . .
 Musarumque melos auditur ubique per urbem.

—Wolstan of Winchester, *Lib. de Vita S. Swithuni*, ed. Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. B.* vii. 617 [*P.L.*, cxxxvii. 110]. Malmesbury minster had a fine organ, which St. Dunstan caused to be built there, in honour of St. Aldhelm, as the Latin verses on it testified: In organis scilicet, quæ ad tanti patris honorem archipræsul dederat, hæc sunt æneis litteris assignata carmina.

Organa do sancto præsul Dunstanus Aldhelmo
 Perdat hic æternum qui vult hinc tollere regnum.

—*Vita S. Aldhelmi* ab anonym. Malmes. in *AA. SS. Maji* vi. 90. See also Will. Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontif.*, v. 255 [*R.S.*, lii. 407]. Between two and three hundred years before St. Dunstan's time, the world of sound which the organ could pour out had been more than once mentioned by St. Aldhelm:—

Quamvis millenis collaudent ora loquelis,
 Sicut folligenis respirant organa flabris,
 Musica concisis, et clamat barbata bombis.

—*De Octo Princip. Vitiis* [*P.L.*, lxxxix. 287]; and again, *De barbitosive Organo*.

(45) besides a variety of wind instruments, a sort of hoop, sheathed in plates of gilt silver, and having bells hung all about it, and made so as to twirl easily, the Anglo-Saxons brought into use for the sake of awakening the people's greater devotion on the higher holy days.²⁵ Throughout the whole church, but more especially about the altars and (46) where the shrine stood, the ground was strewed with rushes or sweet-smelling herbs.²⁶

Here, perhaps, the reader would like to know

Quamvis ære cavo salpinctis classica clangant
 Et citharæ crepitent, strepituque tubæ modulentur :
 Centenos tamen eructant mea viscera cantus :
 Meque strepente stupent mox musica corda fibrarum.

—*Ibid.*, *Epist. ad Acircium* [*P.L.*, 185].

²⁵ Præterea fecit vir Athelwoldus quandam rotam tintinnabulis plenam, quam auream nuncupavit, propter laminas ipsius deauratas, quam in festivis diebus ad majoris excitationem devotionis reducendo volvi constituit.—*Registrum de Abbdon*, Cotton MS., Claud. B. vi., in *Mon. Angl.*, i. 516 [*R.S.* ii. i. 345]. Some at least of these hoops with bells were small enough to be carried about, as may be guessed not only from the costliness of the precious metal out of which they were made, but also from the following lines, which seem to indicate this kind of musical instrument as borne about in the procession at the hallowing of Winchester cathedral, enlarged by Æthelwold :—

Et simul hymnisona fratrum coëunte corona
 Quisque tuum votum, qua valet arte canit.
 Cimbalicæ voces calamis miscentur acutis
 Disparibusque tropis dulces camœna sonat.

—Wolstan of Winchester, *Lib. de Vita S. Swithuni*, ed. Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. B.* vii. 619 [*P.L.*, cxxxvii. 112].

²⁶ Abp. Theodore tells us of the "stramen" (*Lib. Panit.* xxxix., § 10, in Thorpe ii. 47); and that fennel often lay scattered on the floor about St. Etheldreda's shrine in Ely, we learn from the record of a miracle wrought by one of the sprigs of that herb picked up there : *Accipientes surculos marathi unde fuerat cooperta totius superficies pavimenti, &c.*—*Acta S. Etheldredæ*, in *AA. SS. Junii* iv., 521.

how these several functions at the altar were distributed, and unto whom they officially belonged. In answer to such a wish, a word or two must be said on

THE LOWER AND HIGHER ORDERS IN THE ANGLO-SAXON HIERARCHY.

Of these various persons among the clergy ministering about the altar, from the bishop downwards to the lowliest little singing boy, we find the respective form by which each, in due turn, came to be hallowed unto the service of God's one Church on earth. That precious and venerable manuscript known as the Egbert Pontifical lets us see all those ordination-services through which the clerk had to go from the lowest to the highest step in the hierarchy. The youth who wished to become

A Singer

could be admitted into the choir by a priest, with the form, "See that what thou singest with thy mouth thou believest with thy heart; and what thou believest with thy heart thou commendest by thy life."²⁷

²⁷ *Egbert Pontifical*, 10. *Psalmista, id est cantor, posteaquam ab archidiacono instructus fuerit, potest absque conscientia episcopi, sola jussione presbiteri, officium suscipere cantandi, dicente sibi presbitero: Vide ut quod ore cantas, corde credas, et quod corde credis, operibus probes.*

(47) The seven steps or degrees in orders—from the lowest of which each one must begin and go regularly through the rest, before he may reach the bishophood,—and how Christ himself, after a manner, went through them all, Egbert's Pontifical thus sets forth :

De vii gradibus Ecclesie quos adimplevit Christus.

Ostiarius fuit, quando conclusit et aperuit archam Noe, et portas inferni aperuit; unde modo hostiarii qui dicuntur, æcclesie ostia et sacrarii, et tangere signum ut occurrant omnes, custodiri jubentur. Lector fuit, quando aperuit in sinagoga Judeorum librum Isaïe prophetæ et legit, Spiritus domini super me *et cetera*. Sunt igitur lectores qui verbum Dei predicant, quibus dicitur, Clama ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam. Exorcista fuit, quando eiecit septem demonia de Maria Magdalene. Exorcistæ ex greco in latino adjurantes vocantur. Invocant enim super catecuminos, vel superbos qui habent spiritum inmundum, nomen Jesu, adjurantes per eum, ut egrediatur ab eis. Subdiaconus fuit, quando benedixit aquam in Chana Galileæ, et convertit in vinum. Subdiaconus vero oportet apostolum legere, vestire et honestare altaria, et ministrare diacono. Diaconus fuit, quando confregit quinque panes in quinque milia hominum, et vij^m panes in iiij^{or} milia, sive quando lavit

pedes discipulorum suorum. Diaconus namque oportet ministrare ad altare, et evangelium legere in æcclesia, baptizare et communicare in vice presbiteri, peregrinorum pedes lavare, et mortuorum corpora sepelire. Presbiter fuit, quando accepit panem in suis sacris manibus, similiter et calicem, respiciens in cælum ad Deum Patrem suum, gratias agens, et benedixit. Presbiteros autem merito et sapientia dici non ætate intelligendum est. Presbiterum autem oportet benedicere, offerre, et bene præesse, predicare, et baptizare, atque communicare, quia his supradictis gradibus senior est, et vicem (48) episcopi in æcclesia facit. Non enim propter decrepitam senectutem, sed propter sapientiam presbiteri nominantur. Quod si ita, mirum cur insipientes constituuntur. Episcopus fuit, quando elevatis manibus benedixit discipulos suos apostolos in Bethania, et educens eos foras elevatus est in cælum. Episcopum oportet judicare, et interpretari, consecrare, et consummare, quin et ordinare, offerre, et baptizare. Episcopus autem grece latine superinspector, quia omnia prospicere debet et ordinare.²⁸

The times during the year for giving orders, were the Saturdays of the four Ember weeks.²⁹ To begin with

²⁸ *Egbert Pontifical*, 10, 11.

²⁹ *Tempore statuto sabbatorum diebus per tempora mensium. Ibid.*, 11.

The Door-keeper.

As his office was to lock up and unlock the church, and to ring the bells, at his ordination the bishop put into his hands the church keys, and the archdeacon led him down to the threshold, where he made over to him, as it were, the keeping of the doors: then followed the prayers, in which the bishop prayed over the door-keeper.³⁰ This youth's next step was when he became

Reader.

As such, he had to sing—or merely read, as it might be—those lessons which come in the different services of the church. Within his hands when he was ordained the bishop put a book of the lessons, telling him to be a trustworthy bearer of the word, and to fulfil his office of reader (49) with steadfastness; and then he said a prayer of blessing over him.³¹ As

³⁰ *Ostiarius cum ordinatur, postquam ab archidiacono instructus fuerit, qualiter in domo Dei debeat conversari, ad suggestionem archidiaconi tradat ei episcopus claves de altari, dicens: ✠ Sic age quasi redditurus Deo rationem pro his rebus, quæ istis clavibus recluduntur. Et tradat ei archidiaconus ostium ecclesiæ. Ibid., 11, 12.*

³¹ *Lector cum ordinatur, faciat de illo verbum episcopus ad plebem, indicans ejus fidem ac vitam atque ingenium. Post hæc, expectante plebe, tradat ei codicem de quo lecturus est, dicens: Accipe et esto verbi Dei delator habiturus, &c. Benedictio Lectoris. Ibid., 12.*

The Exorcist

got a power from the Church of praying over those who were worried by evil spirits, to drive away the foul fiend, therefore did the bishop bestow upon him, as he gave him ordination, a book of the exorcisms, telling him to learn them by heart, and to receive authority for the laying on of his hands over possessed people.³² The highest of these four lower orders was that of

Acolyte,

who, at his ordination, after being first told of his liturgical duties by the bishop, received from the archdeacon's hands a candlestick with its taper, and an empty cruet. The candlestick was meant to say how unto him was more especially entrusted the care of looking after the church lights; the cruet let him understand that another part of his office would be to carry unto the altar the wine and water needed for working the mystery of Christ's blood at the offering up of the eucharist.³³ In one of the prayers over the

³² *Exorcista cum ordinatur accipiat de manu episcopi libellum, in quo scripti sunt exorcismi, dicente sibi episcopo: ✠ Accipe et com-menda memoriam, et habeto potestatem imponendi manum super inerguminum, sive baptizatum, sive cathecuminum. After this follow the blessings.—Ibid., 13.*

³³ *Accolitus cum ordinatur, primum ab episcopo doceatur qualiter in officio suo agere (50) debeat. Sed ab archidiacono accipiat cero-ferarium cum cera, ut sciat se ad accendenda ecclesie luminaria mancipari. Accipiat et urceolum vacuum ad fundendum vinum in Eucharistia corporis Christi. Ibid., 13, 14.*

acolyte, the bishop asked that he might prove faithful in this duty.³⁴ The next step took the acolyte to

The Subdeaconship.

He who was called to this ministry, had, at his ordination, put into his hands, by the bishop, an empty paten and an empty chalice,—by the archdeacon, a basin and ewer, with a towel. While warning him of the duties belonging to his new office, the bishop gave the subdeacon to know, among other things, that he must always set for consecration as much bread, out of the offerings, upon the altar, as would be enough, considering the number of people present at the holy sacrifice; and another of his obligations would be to wash the altar-cloths, for which purpose he should have two distinct vessels,—one exclusively for the upper sheet, called the “corporal,” because on it lay, and within it was wrapped, the body of Christ at mass,—a second basin, for the under cloths, two or three of which were spread out upon the altar beneath the corporal. The water in which this linen was rinsed had to be thrown into earth through the

³⁴ Ita benedicere digneris hunc famulum tuum iñ. in officio acoliti, ut . . . ad suggerendum vinum et aquam ad conficiendum sanguinis tui ministerium in offerendo Eucharistiam sanctis altaribus tuis fideliter subministret. Accende, Domine, ejus mentem, &c. *Ibid.*, 14.

baptistery drain.³⁵ In due time the subdeacon was raised to

The Deaconship.

Before the ordination either of a deacon or a priest, the bishop first blessed the attire with which those ministers were to be arrayed whensoever they had to go about their holy office at the altar;³⁶ and from one of the prayers said over those garments, we know, by the specification of them, what they were: the chasuble, the *poderis*—a long gown, answering to our cassock³⁷—the alb, the stole, the girdle, and the amice.³⁸ Having hallowed these vestments, the bishop cast the stole upon the intended deacon's neck, saying to him the while those words of our Lord, "my

³⁵ *Subdiaconus cum ordinatur, quia manus impositionem non accipit, patenam de manu episcopi accipiat vacuum, et calicem vacuum. De manu vero archidiaconi accipiat urceolum cum aquamanili ac manutergium. Exhibeatur in conspectu episcopi patena et (51) calix vacuus; et dicat episcopus subdiacono . . . Oblationes quæ veniunt in altare panes propositiones appellantur, de ipsis oblationibus tantum debet in altare poni, quantum populo possit sufficere, ne aliquid putridum in sacrario remaneat. Pallæ vero quæ sunt in substratorio in alio vase debent lavari, in alio corporales pallæ. Ubi pallæ corporales lavatæ fuerint, nullum linteamen ibidem aliud debet lavari, ipsa aqua in baptisterio debet vergi. . . Et tradat ei calicem et patenam, et manipulam. Ibid., 14, 15.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 16, 17.

³⁷ We have spoken of this under the name "subucula" before, vol. i., pp. 374, 375.

³⁸ Domine Deus Pater omnipotens . . . exaudi propitius orationem nostram, et hanc planetam famuli tui, *itt.* seu pudorem (*poderem*), albam, ac stolam, cingulum, orariumque dextera tua sancta benedicere, sanctificare, consecrareque, et purificare digneris, &c.—*Egbert Pontifical*, 17.

yoke is sweet, and my burden light.”³⁹ To this followed, first, a prayer, then a short discourse, or “*Sermo Innocentii Papæ de vii. gradibus æcclesiæ ordinandis.*”⁴⁰ This done, the bishop hung the (52) stole upon the shoulder of the postulant for the deaconship, and put into his hands a copy of the evangelists, saying, “Take this book of the gospels, read, understand, and give it to others; and do thou in thy work fulfil it.” The bishop alone laid his hands upon the new deacon’s head, reciting a short prayer over him.⁴¹ Then came what was called the “consecration,” which ended with the bishop’s anointing of the deacon’s hands with holy oil and chrism.⁴²

When the deacon had reached the prescribed age, and been called to take upon himself

The Priesthood,

the first ceremony at his consecration unto this new dignity was to alter the way of wearing the stole. From waving, as it had been left to do

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴¹ *Diaconus cum ordinatur, circumdetur ejus humerus sinister cum stola ab episcopo, et tradat ei sanctum Evangelium, et dicat sibi, ✠ Accipe istud volumen Evangelii, et lege, et intellege, et aliis trade, et tu opere adimple. Deinde solus episcopus, qui eum benedicit, manus super caput illius ponat, quia non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur.*—*Ibid.*, 18, 19.

⁴² *Consecratio manuum Diaconi de oleo sancto et chrisma. Consecrentur manus istæ, quæsumus Domine, et sanctificentur per istam unctionem, nostramque benedictionem, ut quæcumque benedixerint benedicta sint, et quæcumque sanctificaverint sanctificata sint.*—*Ibid.*, 21. The deacon’s hands are not anointed now at his ordination.

heretofore, loose behind and before, on the left shoulder, the bishop now shifted this liturgical ornament, and put it about the neck, so as to make its two ends fall down in equal lengths, on both sides, low in front of the wearer.⁴³ In behalf of his clerical brother kneeling before him, the bishop now breathed many and warm entreaties unto heaven, that it would send down its ghostly strength into the soul of one who, as its priest, would have to offer up to it a sacrifice, in which, by Christ's own words, bread and wine are transformed—transubstantiated into Christ's own flesh and blood.⁴⁴ As he clothed him with the chasuble, the bishop besought a blessing from above on this priest, that his might be a hallowed priesthood, and that he might offer up to Almighty God atoning sacrifices for the people's sins.⁴⁵ His hands were next anointed

⁴³ *Presbiter cum ordinatur, circumdantur humeri ejus cum stola ab episcopo. Et ibidem tuteletur (53) specialiter ad qualem ecclesiam debeat ministrare. Et benedicente eum episcopo, manus super caput ejus teneat. Similiter et presbiteri, qui presentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant.—Ibid., 21.*

⁴⁴ Tu, Domine, super hunc famulum tuum ist., quem ad presbiterii honorem dedicamus, manum tuam benedictionis infunde . . . ut purum atque immaculatum ministerii tui donum custodiat et per obsequium plebis tuae, corpus et sanguinem Filii tui immaculati transformet, &c.—*Ibid.*, 23.

⁴⁵ *Hic vestes eum casula. Induet te Dominus vestimento salutis, et coronam lætitiæ ponat super caput tuum. Benedictio Dei Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti descendat super te, et sis benedictus in ordine sacerdotali; et offeras placabiles hostias pro peccatis atque offensionibus populi Omnipotenti Deo, &c.—Ibid.*, 23.

with chrism; and the prayer then said warned the priest again of his sacerdotal duty of offering up sacrifice to appease God for the guilt and short-comings of the people, and of hallowing, by a benediction with those hands, such things as the people needed.⁴⁶ Besides the hands, the head also of the newly-made priest was anointed; but in this unction the holy oil, and not the chrism, used to be employed.⁴⁷

Upon the last and loftiest step of holy order stood

The Bishop,

for the hallowing of whom the ceremonial was longer and more diversified. As he knelt before the metropolitan (or, in his stead, the consecrating bishop), two other bishops upheld a book of the gospels, as it lay open, and resting on the head of the priest about to be made bishop, while some prayers were said by all the other bishops who happened to be there, and the other clergy outstretched their hands over him.⁴⁸ After being

⁴⁶ *Consecratio manus.* Benedic, Domine, et sanctifica has manus sacerdotis tui. *ih.* ad consecrandas hostias, quae pro delictis atque negligentis populi offeruntur, et ad cetera (54) benedicenda quae ad usus populi necessaria sunt: &c. *Faciens crucem sanctam de chrismate in manibus ejus, et dicit:* Consecrentur manus istae, quæsumus Domine, et sanctificentur: per istam sanctam unctionem et nostram invocationem, adque divinam benedictionem, ut quodquod benedixerint, sit benedictum, et quodquod sanctificaverint, sit sanctificatum. *Per.—Ibid., 24.*

⁴⁷ *Consecratio capitis oleo.* Unguatur et consecratur caput tuum celesti benedictione in ordine sacerdotali, in nomine Patris, &c.—*Ibid., 24.*

told, among other things, that he had been called to the work of the full priesthood—*ad summi sacerdotii ministerium*⁴⁹—and to rule God's Church from the episcopal chair—*tribuas ei (Domine) cathedram episcopalem ad regendam Ecclesiam tuam*⁵⁰—his hands were anointed with chrism (55) and holy oil.⁵¹ Upon his head also was poured the holy oil; the kiss of peace was given him. The pastoral staff was next put into his hands with an admonition to be at the same time strict, just and merciful; and afterwards the episcopal ring was given to him and placed upon his finger.⁵² The ceremony ended by leading the new bishop to an episcopal chair, whereon he sat the while was prayed a prayer, which told him, in beautiful words, how, by God's kindness, he had been brought to be, as it were, one of the links in the apostolic succession within that one church which Christ our Lord had raised for himself, and had left to be taught and governed by his apostles and their after-

⁴⁹ *Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo Episcopi ponant et teneant Evangeliorum librum super cervicem ejus, et unus fundat super eum benedictionem, et postea istas tres orationes omnes Episcopi, qui adsunt, recitare debent; reliqui vero manus suas super caput ejus teneant.—Ibid., 1.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid., 2.*

⁵¹ *Ibid., 2.*

⁵² *Ibid., 3.*

⁵³ *Accipe baculum pastoralis officii, et sis in corrigendis vitiis sæviens, in ira judicium sine ira tenens, cum iratus fueris misericordiae reminiscens. Cum anulus datur hæc oratio dicitur: Accipe anulum pontificalis honoris, ut sis fidei integritate munitus.—Ibid., 3.*

comers in the apostleship.⁵³ The service then ended with a special blessing.⁵⁴

(56) But many of

THE FESTIVALS OF THE YEAR,

as they came about, brought with them each its own little variations that spoke of itself or that tide, and wrought a slight change, for the day, in those rubrics at mass, as well as at the other services of the church. Though the liturgy followed by the Anglo-Saxons was that of Rome, still, along with their growth as a Christian people, there sprang up among those forefathers of ours some few ritual peculiarities, which, however, were unimportant as far as belief went; or, if anything, only more energetic exponents of Catholic teaching even than the Italian ceremonial. These observances they loved

⁵³ *Modo mittendus est in cathedram episcopalem, et haec oratio dicenda est.* Omnipotens Pater, Sancte Deus aeternae . . . in novo (testamento) per Filium tuum Jesum Christum apostolos sanctos ex sanctis omnibus elegisti, primum Petrum apostolum in cathedra honoris, et Mathiam ejusdem consortem in apostolatam atque cathedram honoris enumerasti, . . . da similem gratiam fratri nostro ih̄. ad instar sanctorum apostolorum tuorum sedentium in cathedra honoris et dignitatis, ut in conspectu majestatis tuae dignus honore appareat. Per.

Domine Jesu Christe, tu praelegisti apostolos tuos, ut doctrina sua nobis praessent, ita etiam vice apostolorum hunc episcopum doctrinam docere, et benedicere, et erudire digneris, ut inmaulatam vitam et inlesam conservet. Per omnia.—*Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁴ *Benedictio ejusdem sacerdotis.* . . . Sit Deus pater tuus, sint angeli amici tui, sint apostoli fratres tui, et apostolatus tui gradum custodiant, &c.—*Ibid.*, 5.

because they were their own. Such national feelings, the most learned and holiest men of this land, instead of trying to weaken, did their best to make stronger. The great St. Dunstan forbade the churchmen of his day to lay aside any of this country's liturgical usages that were befitting, which had come down to them from their elders.⁵⁵ To hear the

Church bells

going was what every Anglo-Saxon loved ; hence from childermass-tide, all through the holydays, a full peal was rung for matins, mass, and even-song.⁵⁶ All the Christmas (57) festivals were hallowed after a becoming manner ; but

⁵⁵ *Honestos huius patriæ mores ad Dominum pertinentes, quos veterum usu didicimus nullo modo abjicere sed undique uti diximus corroborare decrevimus.—Reg. Conc., 85.*

⁵⁶ *His autem diebus inter Innocentium festivitatem ; et octavas Domini, quia Gloria in excelsis Deo ob tantæ festivitatis honorificentiam ad missam celebratur, ad nocturnam, et ad vesperam, uti ad missam sicut in usum huius patriæ indigenæ tenent, omnia signa pulsantur. (Ibid.)* Among other works of art wrought by the hands of our great St. Dunstan, was a bell which, for many ages after that saint's death, hung in Canterbury cathedral, and was deemed one of the sweetest in England : Tunc pulsato signo beatissimi patris nostri (Dunstani), quod ipse manibus suis olim fecisse dicebatur, quo nullum dulcius neque ad commovendos hominum animos flebilis, concurrat universa civitas (Cantuariensis). Osbern, *Vita et Mirac. S. Dunstani*, in *AA. SS. Maji* iv. 379 [*E.S.*, lxiii. 138.]. Abingdon could also boast of two bells made by the same saint, as well as of other two the work of its founder St. Æthelwold : Fecit (Athelwoldus) etiam duas campanas propriis manibus, ut dicitur, quas in hac domo (de Abbendon) posuit cum aliis duabus majoribus quas etiam beatus Dunstanus propriis manibus fecisse perhibetur.—*Registrum de Abbendon*, MS. Cotton, Claudius B. vi., in *Mon. Anglic.*, i. 516 [*E.S.*, ii. i. 345].

St. Stephen's day

was distinguished by the deacons singing some short versicles just before the introit of high mass. This short musical service was performed by these ministers alone, who for the purpose divided themselves into two choirs, one answering the other's song, thus: *Versus ante officium in festivitatem Sancti Stephani Protomartiris Primo dicant leuitae canentes, Cui adstat candida contio omnis, &c. Tunc respondeant illis alii dicentes, Optamus regi regum dicere odas, &c. Item prætitulati cantores dicant, Laudabile est Christo, &c. Item leuitae, Alleluia nunc leuitae, &c.*⁶⁷ Because the protomartyr had himself been one of the seven deacons ordained by the apostles, the Church in this land, not only in Anglo-Saxon but in later times, bade her deacons look upon and honour him as their patron (58) saint. While teaching the people their duty in his sermon for

The Purification,

Ælfric lets us see, as it were, that procession in which the Anglo-Saxons—men and women—walked, each one bearing in his hand a lighted taper, hallowed at the beginning of that day's service in his parish church, for the ceremony. "Be it known also to everyone," says the homilist,

⁶⁷ *Winchester Troper, 6.*

“that it is appointed in the ecclesiastical observances, that we on this day bear our lights to church, and let them there be blessed : and that we should go afterwards with the light among God’s houses, and sing the hymn that is thereto appointed. Though some men cannot sing, they can, nevertheless, bear the light in their hands ; for on this day was Christ the true light borne to the temple, who redeemed us from darkness, and bringeth us to the Eternal Light, who liveth and ruleth for ever.”⁵⁸ Of this rite itself, and how it used to be kept throughout this country in his own days, Beda tells us, as he happens to glance at the heathenish lustration of old Rome ordained by Numa. This heathenish lustration was adopted by the Christian Religion with suitable alterations for use on the Festival of Our Lady’s Purification. All the faithful carried lighted tapers and went in procession round the church and through the streets, after the manner of the five wise virgins in the parable.⁵⁹ The form for hallowing these

⁵⁸ *Homs.* ed. Thorpe, i. 151.

⁵⁹ Sed hanc lustrandi consuetudinem bene mutavit Christiana religio, cum in mense eodem die sanctæ Mariæ plebs universa, cum sacerdotibus ac ministris, hymnis modulatæ vocis per ecclesias, perque congrua urbis loca, procedit, datosque a pontifice cuncti cereos in manibus gestant ardentes, et augescente bona consuetudine, id ipsum in cæteris quoque ejusdem beatæ matris et perpetuæ virginis festivitatibus agere didicit, non utique in lustrationem terrestris imperii quinquennem, sed in perennem regni cœlestis memoriam, quando, juxta parabolam virginum prudentium, omnes electi, lucentibus bonorum actuum lampadibus, obviam sponso ac regi suo venientes, mox (59) cum eo ad nuptias supernæ civitatis intrabunt. *De Tempor. Ratione*, xii. [*P.L.*, xc. 351, 352].

tapers, and the ceremonial of carrying them processionally, may be found in the Anglo-Saxon liturgy; Egbert's Pontifical gives the prayer of blessing, thus:—*Benedictio Luminis in Purificatione Domine Sanctæ Mariæ*. Sancte Pater, Omnipotens, æterne Deus, benedicere et sanctificare digneris istum ignem quem nos indigni suscipimus, per invocationem Unigeniti Filii Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quem, hodie in templo presentatum, justum Symeonem diu exspectantem in ulnas suscipisse novimus, et salutare tuum ante faciem omnium populorum esse, lumen scilicet gentibus et gloriam plebis tuæ Israel, prophetico spiritu docuisti. Te quæsumus Domine benedicere digneris lumen istud, et omnibus hoc manibus gestantibus illud verum lumen tuæ majestatis concede, ut te agnoscentes per viam virtutum ad te valeant pervenire, &c.⁶⁰ Besides this same prayer in the Leofric missal,⁶¹ we have as follows:—*Oratio super cereos. In Purificatione Sanctæ Mariæ, . . .* Te humiliter (Domine Deus) deprecamur ut has candelas ad usus hominum et animarum, siue in terra, siue in aquis, per inuocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, et per intercessionem Sanctæ Mariæ genetricis tuæ, cuius hodie festa percolimus, per precesque omnium Sanctorum tuorum benedicere et sanctificare digneris; ut hæc plebs tua illas (honorifice) in manibus portans, cantando teque

⁶⁰ *Egbert Pontifical*, 132.

⁶¹ Ed. Warren, 204.

laudando tueatur ; uocesque illorum de cęlo sancto tuo exaudias, &c.⁶² *His peractis cantetur antiphona. ad stationem Sanctę Marię, Ave gratia plena, Dei genetrix, uirgo* (with the Anglo-Saxon notation for the singing)—*His finitis, accensis luminaribus materialibus, in cordibus nostris amore Christi ardentes, in obuiam Christo uero sponso ęcclesię venturi* (60) *sperantes, uerum lumen, a quo inluminamur confitentes, ternis trino antip(h)onis collectisque laudato, et in sinibus ęcclesię fidelium accepto congratulantes, missę sollempnia donec finiantur expectemus.*⁶³

From the foregoing rubrics we gather that there used to be two distinct blessings ; one over the unlighted wax tapers, the other over the fire (very likely a burning candle) from which they were afterwards all lit. This procession took place before mass, and on getting back again to their church, the people stopped for the offering up of the Holy Sacrifice.

When Septuagesima Sunday—the third before Lent—came, *Alleluia* was left out by the Church from all parts of her service. Then did she begin to read, for the lessons at matins, the book of Genesis, which tells of man's fall : in sorrow for Adam's weakness, and bearing in mind that the season for her yearly fast was not far off, she now hushed this her usual song of ghostly joy. That

⁶² *Ibid.*, 203, 204.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 204.

among our Anglo-Saxons the *Alleluia* used to be laid aside with some ritual formality, we may gather from the fact that they had, in their liturgy, a hymn which they sang on the occasion, and which began thus :—

Alleluia dulce carmen
Vox perennis gaudii, &c.

One of its strophes was :—

Alleluia non meremur,
Nunc perenne psallere ;
Alleluia nos reatus
Cogit intermittere ;
Tempus instat quo peracta
Lugeamus crimina.⁶⁴

(61) *Shrove-tide, or the week before Lent,*

brought along with it more than one religious and ritual observance. The very name which our Anglo-Saxon sires had given to this time, said how they had ever looked upon it as the particular season of shriving themselves, that is, going to their shrift-father or parish-priest, and in sacramental confession telling him their most hidden sins. “In the week immediately before Lent, every one shall go to his confessor,” said the *Ecclesiastical Institutes*, “and confess his deeds ; and his confessor shall so shrive him as he then may hear by his deeds what he is to do : and he

⁶⁴ Hymnus in LXX^{ma}, id est, in Clausula Alleluia.—*Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Surtees Society, p. 56.

shall command all his parishioners, with God's command, that if any of them have any enmity against any man, that he make peace with him ; but if any one will not agree to that, then he may not shrive him, but then he shall acquaint the bishop, that he may turn him to right . . . then with minds thus purified, let them enter on the tide of the holy fast, and by penance purify themselves against the holy Easter, &c." ⁶⁵ In his homily for Shrove Sunday or Dominica in Quinquagesima, Ælfric says : " Now is a clean and holy tide drawing nigh, in which we should make amends for our heedlessness ; let, therefore, every Christian man come unto his confessor, and confess his secret guilt." ⁶⁶ If those who had sinned hiddenly, now bethought themselves how they might best do hidden penance for their secret guilt during the coming Lenten fast, that man who had, with open shamelessness, broken God's behests, was now called upon by the Church to take away, by his open sorrow, the scandal which he had thrown in the path of his brethren. For such an end, as well as to strike a wholesome dread into the hearts of all, (62) every public sinner was, at that season of the year, made to undergo the infliction of

⁶⁵ Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 433.

⁶⁶ *Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, i. 165.

PUBLIC PENANCE.

Barefoot and bareheaded, with nothing on them but a short rough garment of sackcloth, those men came to the church door at early morn on Ash Wednesday. To each one among them was allotted a course of penitential works and prayer proportionate to his guilt, by the proper official for whose guidance in such matters Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, and Egbert archbishop of York, had severally drawn up a hand-book known as the "penitentiary." By the bishop these public penitents were afterwards brought into church, where casting himself with them outstretched on the ground, he and his clergy said the VII penitential psalms. Arising, the prelate next spread forth his hands over them, sprinkled them with holy water, put ashes first, then sackcloth, on each one's head, and, with sighs, told them that like as Adam at his fall had been driven out of paradise, so they too for their sins must be sent out of the Church. At the bishop's bidding, some of the clergy, who went chanting the words, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," &c., led these public penitents back again beyond the church door, which was to be shut unto them till Maundy Thursday. This we learn from the writings of archbishop Theodore.⁶⁷ But

⁶⁷ De pœnitentibus, ut in capite ieiunii omnes publice pœnitente sin civitate veniant ante fores ecclesiæ, nudis pedibus, et

Ash Wednesday

had its ceremonial of strewing ashes upon, not merely the public penitent, but all; and thereby spoke its awful teachings and its warning unto all—unto the young and old, the guiltless and the guilty. As soon as none-song was over, that is, about mid afternoon, the ashes were hallowed, and then put upon each one's forehead.⁶⁸ From

cilicio induti episcopo suo se repræsentent. In capite Quadragesimæ omnes penitentes, qui publicam suscipiunt vel suaceperunt penitentiam, ante fores ecclesiæ se repræsentent episcopo sacco induti, vultibus in terram prostratis, reos se esse ipso habitu et vultu proclamantes. Ibi adesse debent archipresbyteri parochiarum, id est, presbyteri (63) penitentium, qui eorum conversationem diligenter inspicere debent, et, secundum modum culpæ, penitentiam per præfixos gradus injungant. Post hæc in ecclesiam eos introducat et cum omni clero septem penitentiales psalmos, in terram prostratus, cum lachrymis, pro eorum absolutione decantet: tunc resurgens ab oratione, juxta quod canones iubent, manus eis imponat, aquam benedictam super eos spargat, cinerem prius mittat, deinde cilicio capita eorum cõperiat, et cum gemitu, et crebris suspiriis eis denunciaret quod sicut Adam proiectus est de Paradiso, ita et ipsi pro peccatis ab ecclesia abiiciuntur. Post hæc iubeat ministris, ut eos extra ianuam ecclesiæ expellant; clerus vero prosequitur eos cum responsorio, "In sudore vultus tui," &c. ut videntes sanctam ecclesiam pro facinoribus suis tremefactam atque commotam, non parvipendant penitentiam. In sacra autem Domini cœna, rursus ab eorum presbyteris ecclesiæ liminibus repræsententur. *Cap. et Frag.* in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 70. The "Ordo agentibus publicam penitentiam" may be seen in the *Leofric Missal*, 73. This rite is more than once noticed in our national records; of St. Elphege I., bishop of Winchester, William Malmesbury tells us that:—Dies erat Cinerum, et pontifex pro more penitentes ecclesiæ liminibus excluderat; ceteros adhortatus est ut ieiunio et castitati vacantes, etiam uxorias delicias abiicerent illis diebus.—*Gesta Pontif.*, ii. 75 [*R.S.*, lii. 164].

⁶⁸ The form for blessing these ashes may be seen in the *Leofric Missal*, 204: *Benedictio super cineres* . . . cineres, quos causa proferendæ humilitatis, atque promerendæ uenîæ capitibus nostris decernibus(m) benedicere pro tua pietate digneris, &c.

(64) their own parish church, the people then went in procession to some other church, and on coming back heard mass. Then, and only then, did such as were bound, and able to fast, take any kind of food.⁶⁹

All through Lent, as well as on the ember days, the deacon and the subdeacon wore, at high mass, a chasuble like the priest's. This vestment the subdeacon laid aside for the time, before he sang the epistle, but put it on again immediately afterwards; the deacon, however, ere going to chant the gospel, took off his chasuble, and, folding it into a long narrow band, fitted it, thus rolled, upon his left shoulder, so that it fell thence, beltwise, on both sides, about his breast and back, meeting beneath his right arm, where he fastened its ends together by the girdle of his alb; and went through his ministrations so arrayed, till after the communion, when he undid and shook out his rolled-up chasuble, and wore it after the ordinary manner. [See the picture in vol. i. p. 314.] The rubric itself, with the hint of its antiquity, comes in St. Dunstan's *Rule*.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Quarta feria capitis ieiunii (writes St. Dunstan) nona decantata, abbas stola ornatus benedicat cineres: quibus benedictis eat ipse abbas, et imponat capitibus singulorum, quia ejus est penitentiam illis imponere, &c.; tunc vadant quo ire habent canentes antiphonas quae in Antiphonario continentur: venientes ad ecclesiam, quo eunt, iterum agant orationem, &c., et ibi incipientes litaniam revertantur ad matrem ecclesiam, ac dehinc more solito agatur missa, &c.—*Reg. Conc.*, 85.

⁷⁰ Tunc induti casulis sacerdos, diaconus ac subdiaconus peragant ministeria sua. Hic autem (65) mos casularii, tantummodo quadra-

The way of keeping Lent,

both with regard to its fastings and prayers, is well shown in a very precious memorial of those olden times, the Anglo-Saxon *Ecclesiastical Institutes*: "The Lenten fast ought to be kept with very particular care, so that there be no day, except only the Sundays, on which any one may take any meat, before the tenth or the twelfth hour; except any one who is so weak that he cannot fast, and young men who have not the age, who may dispense with the fast; because these days are the tithing-days of the year, and we should therefore solemnize them with all piety and holiness. It is a custom that people often, for love of friends, redeem other fasts with alms, but this may, on no account, be broken. . . . It is daily needful for every man that he give his alms to poor men; but yet, when we fast, then ought we to give greater alms than on other days; because the meat and the drink which we should then use if we did not fast, we ought to distribute to the poor; because if we fast, and reserve the morning repast for the evening refection, then is

gesimali et quatuor temporibus usu præcedentium patrum observetur. Subdiaconus quoties casula induitur exuat eam dum legit epistolam, qua lecta, rursus ea induatur. Diaconus vero antequam ad evangelium legendum accedat, exuat casulam, et duplicans eam circumponat sibi in sinistra scapula annectens alteram summitatem ejus cingulo albæ. Peracto communionis sacramento induat eam antequam collecta finiatur.—*Ibid.*, 85.

that no fast, but the hour of meat will be deferred, and the evening refection doubled. It is the custom of many men, when they fast, that, as soon as they hear the none-bell, they take to (66) meat; but it is not allowable that that be a fitting fast, but it is right that, after none-song, mass be heard, and after the mass, even-song at the time; and after the even-song, let every one give his alms, so as his means will permit him, and after that take to meat. But if any one be constrained by any occupation, so that he cannot come to the mass nor to the even-song, then at least let him continue fasting until he know that the mass and the even-song have been sung; and then, having thus completed his own prayers and his alms, let him enjoy his good things and take refection. At this tide there should be abstinence from all delicacies, and soberly and chastely we should live. If any one, at this holy tide, can forego cheese, and eggs, and fish, and wine, it is a very strict fast; but for those who, from infirmity, or any other reasons, cannot forego them, it is needful that they enjoy them moderately, and at the times when they are allowed, that is, after the even-song; and let him take neither wine nor other drink, for any drunkenness, but for his heart's refection, &c. Every Sunday, at this holy tide, people should go to housel, except those men who are excommunicated, &c."⁷¹ From these extracts

⁷¹ Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 435, &c.

we learn that, under the Anglo-Saxon ritual, mass was never said, on the week-days during Lent, till late in the afternoon, and no food was eaten until almost sunset.

The advice which St. Paul gives to married folks (1 Cor. vii. 5), our Anglo-Saxons not merely heard, but heeded.⁷² (67) They were taught to follow it whenever they partook of the adorable eucharist; for "to the people it is to be said, that at those tides, when they receive the holy mystery of Christ's body and blood, that is, the holy housel, that they do so with great awe and piety, and that they previously, both with fasts and with alms, both purify themselves and refrain from conjugal act," &c. But this apostolic teaching were they taught to obey more especially all through the time of Lent: "For those married it is also very needful that they hold themselves chastely at this holy tide, without defilement of any cohabitation, that they, through pious life, with purified heart, and their bodies' chastity, with acceptable deeds, may come on the holy Easter-day; because the fast avails nought that is defiled with conjugal act," &c.⁷³

⁷² Qui in matrimonio sunt, abstineant se in III. XL^{mas}, et in Dominica nocte, et in Sabbato, et feria IIII. et VI. quæ legitimæ sunt, et III. noctes abstineant se antequam communicent, et I. postquam communicent, et in Pascha usque ad octabas; inde ait Apostolus: "Nolite fraudare invicem, nisi ex consensu, ut vacetis orationi ad tempus."—Theodore, *Liber Penitent.*, in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 12.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 441.

Thus did they go through this solemn fast. As its end drew nigh they were thus warned: "This tide from (the fifth Sunday in Lent) until the holy Easter tide, is called CHRIST'S PASSION-TIDE, and all God's ministers in the holy Church, with their church services honour, and in remembrance hold, His passion, through which we were all redeemed. Our books also say that we should hold these fourteen days with great earnestness, on account of the approaching of the holy passion and honourable resurrection of our Saviour. On these days we omit, in our responses, *Gloria Patri*, on account of our lament for the holy passion, unless some high festival-day occur during them."⁷⁴ In his sermon for

Palm Sunday,

Ælfric says: "The custom exists in God's Church, by its (68) doctors established, that everywhere in God's congregation the priest should bless palm-twigs on this day, and distribute them, so blessed, to the people; and God's servants should then sing the hymn which the Jewish people sang before Christ when he was approaching to his passion. We imitate the faithful of that people with this deed, for they bare palm-twigs, with hymn, before Jesus. Now we should hold our palm until the singer begins the offering-song,

⁷⁴ *Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, ii. 225.

and then offer to God the palm for its betokening. Palm betokens victory. Victorious was Christ when he overcame the great devil, and rescued us; and we should also be victorious, through God's might, so that we overcome our evil practices, and all sins, and the devil, and adorn ourselves with good works; and, at the end of our life, deliver the palm to God, that is our victory, and thank Him fervently that we, through His succour, have overcome the devil, so that he could not deceive us."⁷⁶ The blessing of those boughs—called, from the Sunday's service, palms—the procession wherein they were afterwards borne by clergy and people, singing as they went, along the highways and the fields, from one church to another, and the carrying them up afterwards, and handing them, as their offering-gift, to the sacrificing priest, at the offertory of the mass, are all duly noticed in the Anglo-Saxon rituals.

In the Egbert Pontifical we have the following prayers:

Ad Palmas benedicendas vel Ramos

Domine Jesu Christe, qui ante mundi principium venisti, &c.

Deus, qui temporibus Noe famuli tui, per columbam ramum olive virentibus foliis in ore deferentem, post diluvii effusionem, cum pace hominibus

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 219.

reddita nuntiare voluisti, et qui Unigenito tuo Domino nostro Jesu Christo ad Jerosolimam (69) properanti pueros Ebreorum cum ramis palmarum obviam venientes, laudesque decantantes, et voce elevata dicentes, Osanna in excelsis, Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, Rex Israel, voluisti benedicere; sanctificare atque consecrare digneris hos palmarum ramos diversarumque frondium vel florum, ut omnes, qui ex eis in manibus accipere voluerint tibi placere possint, et in die iudicii cum palma victoriae et fructu iusticiae ad iudicium pervenire mereantur, et exinde gloriam accipientes indefectivam tecum sine fine vita aeterna permanere. Per.⁷⁶

Leofric's missal lets us behold how the ceremony used to be done in the south-west parts of Anglo-Saxondom:⁷⁷ but it is St. Dunstan who sets out, in his famed *Rule*, the ceremonial of this

⁷⁶ P. 128. Another, and still longer form, is given on pp. 135, 136. Martene was mistaken when he said (*De Antiq. Ecc. Rit.*, iv. 20) that in archbishop Egbert's Pontifical no trace of blessing palms could be found. This however is true, that our Anglo-Saxon archbishop of York's codex is the earliest book yet known which gives such a blessing.

⁷⁷ *Deinde accedat episcopus et benedicat ramos ita dicendo, &c. Deinde spargentur rami palmarum cum aqua benedicta, et turificentur cum incenso et thimiamate; et diuidantur, primo clero, deinde populo. . . . Finita antiphona pergant ad processionem cum candelabris et turibulis. Antiphonę ad processionem, Cum appropinquaret. . . . Tunc episcopus siue presbiter faciat sermonem de sancta cruce, et incipiat antiphonam Ave, rex noster, Et omnes prosternant se ad terram. Finita antiphona, cantor incipiat: R. In die qua . . . procedant pueri duo aut tres, et canant hos, Gloria, laus et honor. . . . Tunc portetur crux in antea, et cum introierint ecclesiam, sequente clero ac populo, dicat cantor R., Ingreddiente Domino, &c. Ed. Warren, 255, 256.*

day at greatest length. (70) All were to go, clad in albs and repeating psalms silently, to the church where the palms were to be blessed, and there to pray, invoking the Patron Saint. After the deacon had read a gospel, the palms were blessed, sprinkled, censed and distributed, and meanwhile antiphons were sung. Then followed the procession: at the return to the church the hymn *Gloria, laus* was sung by the boys with its refrain, and, on entering, a respond. The palms were retained in the hands of the people and offered at the offertory.⁷⁸

One of those anthems sung the while the palms are being given out, the then venerable antiquity

⁷⁸ Dominica die Palmarum, quia maior restat processio agenda, illa quæ solet in clauastro agi, interim dum matutinalis missa canitur, agatur a sacerdote tantum conspersio et benedictionem agente. Finita illa missa, agatur illa maior processio, in qua sicut in priori diximus agendum, ita agatur, id est, ut ad illam ecclesiam ubi palme sunt, sub silentio ordinatim eant dediti psalmodiae omnes, si fieri potest et aura permiserit, albis induti, quo cum pervenerint, agant orationem, ipsius sancti implorantes auxilii intercessionem, cui ecclesia dedicata est. Finita oratione, a diacono legatur evangelium, *Turba multa usque mundus totus post ipsum abiit*, quando sequatur benedictio palmarum. Post benedictionem, aspergantur benedicta aqua et thus cremetur. Dehinc pueris inchoantibus antiphonas, *Pueri Hebreorum*, distribuuntur ipsae palme, et sic maioribus antiphonis initiatis egrediantur, venientes ante ecclesiam subsistant, donec pueri qui præcesserunt, decantent *Gloria laus* cum versibus omnibus, sicut mos est, *Laus et Gloria* respondentibus; quibus finitis, incipiente cantore responsorium, *Ingrediente Domino*, aperiantur portae: ingressi, finito responsorio, agant sicut supradictum est; et tenant palmas in manibus usque dum offertorium canetur, et eas post oblationem offerant sacerdoti.

Ea die ad passionem, dicitur *Dominus vobiscum*, sed *Gloria tibi, Domine*, non respondetur: similiter et in reliquis passionibus, excepta Parascevae passione ubi neutrum dicatur nec *Dominus vobiscum*, nec *Gloria tibi, Domine*.—*Reg. Conc.*, 86.

of this ghostly song, the joyous strains in which the two bands of singers used to chant it, are all set forth by one of the earliest (71) lights of the Anglo-Saxon priesthood, the holy bishop Aldhelm.⁷⁹

The remaining part, especially the last three days of

Holy Week,

then, as now, drew forth the Church's sorrows, which she so feelingly showed to the world by so many of her heart-reaching ceremonies. For Maundy Thursday, as well as for Good Friday and Holy Saturday, the matins and lauds, which, in these our times, and all through several bygone ages, have been called

Tenebræ,

were sung by the Anglo-Saxons with the same accompaniment as ours, of lighted tapers, to be put out, one by one, as the psalms went on. A scholar of our Alcuin, Amalarius, has a short chapter, "De extinctione luminum" in which he gives a mystical explanation of this unwonted ceremony.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ De quo lætantes evangelici consona vocis harmonia psallentes conoorditer oecinerunt: *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.* Cujus rei regulam nostra quoque mediocritas, authentica veterum auctoritate subnixâ, in sacrosancta Palmarum solemnitate binis classibus canora voce concrepans, et geminis concentibus *Osanna* persultans, cum iucundæ iubilationis melodia concelebrat.—*De Laudibus Virginitatis* [P.L., lxxxix. 128].

⁸⁰ Quod lumen ecclesiæ extinguitur in his noctibus, videtur nobis aptari ipsi soli iustitiæ, qui extinctus est, et sepultus

Besides telling us that the tapers were put out then, as now, at the office of *Tenebræ*, a rubric of St. Dunstan's speaks of a short ceremony, at present nowhere kept up, which used to be observed, perhaps not in all, though in very many of our Anglo-Saxon minsters. It consisted in the chanting of the *Kyrie eleison* by two boys on the right side of the choir, who were answered by other two on the left, with *Christe eleison*; then a third couple of youths, from the west end, sang *Domine miserere nobis*, and the whole choir

tribus diebus et tribus noctibus . . . Tot enim (lxxii) discipulos misit Christus binos et binos prædicare ante faciem suam. Igitur per singulas noctes memoratarum feriarum viginti quatuor lumina accenduntur. Et quia ipse sol significat solem nostrum qui occubuit vespere passionis, per lumen quod nos possumus accendere et extinguere, instar ortus solis et occasus, (72) demonstramus ortum et occubitum veri solis aliquo modo. Illuminatur nostra ecclesia vigintiquatuor luminibus, et per singula cantica, in quibus nos oportet exultare, decidimus mœstitia, quia verus sol noster occubuit, et sic per singulas horas defectus solis augetur, usque ad plenam extinctionem. Hoc enim fit ter, quia triduo recolitur sepultura Domini.—Amalarius, *De Eccl. Offic.*, iv. 22 [Hittorp, 471]. Elsewhere he lets us know that when he wrote (c. A.D. 830), this rite of putting out the candles was not followed at Rome: *Mos ecclesiæ nostræ obtinet per tres noctes, id est, per feriam quintam, quæ vocatur Cœna Domini, et per sextam, quæ vocatur Parasceve, et per septimam quæ vocatur Sabbatum sanctum, ut extinguantur luminaria ecclesiæ in nocte. De more sanctæ matris nostræ Romanæ ecclesiæ interrogavi archidiaconum Theodorum memoratæ ecclesiæ scilicet Romanæ . . . Nihil enim ibi in eadem nocte (de Coena Domini) observatur de extinctione luminum, &c. De Ordine Antiph.*, 44. Bearing in mind the weight which our Anglo-Saxon countrymen, by whose missionary toils so large a part of Germany was brought within the fold of Christ, must have had upon the church service of Mentz, where Amalarius was deacon, we are fully warranted in thinking that such a ceremony began in this island and hence spread itself to the other parts of Christendom.

joined in singing *Christus Dominus factus est obediens, &c.* After this had been thrice repeated, prayers followed.⁸¹

(74) Early on the morning of

⁸¹ (73) Quinta feria quæ et Cœna Domini dicitur, nocturnale officium agatur secundum quod in Antiphonario habetur. Comperimus etiam in quorundam religiosorum ecclesiis quiddam fieri, quod ad animarum compunctionem spiritualis rei indicium exorsum est, videlicet ut peracto quicquid ad cantilenam illius noctis pertinet, evangelique antiphona finita, nihilque iam cereorum luminis remanente, sint duo ad hoc idem destinati pueri in dextra parte chori, qui sonora psallant voce, *Kyrie eleison*, duoque in sinistra parte similiter qui respondeant *Christe eleison*, necnon et in occidentali parte, duo qui dicant *Domine miserere nobis*: quibus peractis respondeat simul omnis chorus, *Christus Dominus factus est obediens usque ad mortem*. Demum pueri dexterioris chori repetant quæ supra eodem modo quo supra, usquequo chorus finiat quæ supra: idemque tertio repetant quæ supra, eodem ordine. Quibus tertio finitis, agant tacitas genu flexo more solito preces, qui ordo trium noctium uniformiter teneatur ab illis. Qui, ut reor, ecclesiasticæ compunctionis usus a Catholicis ideo repertus est ut tenebrarum terror qui tripartitum mundum Dominica passione timore perculit insolito ac apostolicæ prædicationis consolatio quæ universo mundo Christum Patri usque ad mortem pro generis humani salute obedientem revelaverat, manifestissime designetur. Hæc ergo inserenda censuimus, ut si quibus devotionis gratia complacuerint, habeant in his unde huius rei ignaros instruant; qui autem noluerint ad hoc agendum minime compellantur.—*Reg. Conc.*, 86. Writing on the liturgy as followed in his own country, which had been won from heathenism to a belief in Christ by Anglo-Saxon missionaries, Rupert, abbot of Duyts, lets us see how, till his days (c. A.D. 1111) this very rite of the Anglo-Saxon Church was still kept up on the banks of the Rhine:—Plerisque moris est, ut extinctis luminaribus, in ipsis tenebris lugubres tropi, præcinentibus cantatoribus et choro respondente, flebili modulatione decantentur, incipientibus a *Kyrie eleison*. Significant autem lamenta sanctarum mulierum, quæ, ut in Evangelio legimus, lamentabantur Dominum, sedentes contra sepulchrum.—*De Divin. Offic.*, v. 27 [Hittorp, i. 953].

Maundy Thursday

all the younger clerks went to church, and, bare-foot, washed its pavement the while the priests, with their deacons and subdeacons, and other attendants, were going about washing each one of the altars there, with water hallowed for that especial purpose.

What Christ did to his apostles after the last supper,⁸² the clergy, in commemorating it, now did very solemnly to the poor, and then to one another—wash their feet. For this purpose, in some fitting place out of the church itself, were gathered, before the hour for mass, a number of aged men, sometimes the poor of the neighbourhood, sometimes wandering beggars, or pilgrims. Kneeling before these poor men, the younger among the clergy washed their feet, which, having wiped them dry, they kissed. These same poor people were afterwards fed, and while they ate, waited on by those clerks, who, ere letting their lowly guests take leave, gave unto each of them a small piece of money.⁸³

⁸² St. John xiii. 5.

⁸³ Facto namque capitulo (feria v. in cœna Domini), discalcient se fratres, et intrantes ecclesiam, more obedientiæ, lavent pavimenta ecclesiæ, sacerdotibus interim cum ministris altaris, benedicta aqua, sacra altaria lavantibus.

Ea enim die non fit celebratio missæ in aliquo altari donec lavetur.

(75) Quibus peractis, lotis pedibus, recalcient se. Sexta peracta, celebretur missa.

Pauperibus ante ad hoc collectis secundum numerum quem abbas præviderit; dehinc collectis in locum congruum, eant fratres

Those public sinners who had, on Ash Wednesday, been openly put out of the church, when known to have fulfilled the austerities allotted them during the Lenten fast, and to have become truly sorrowful, were on this day again openly brought back within its walls, and thus restored among their brethren to that place which, by their guilt, they had forfeited. Over these penitents, as they lay stretched upon the ground outside the church-door, the bishop or the priest, as it happened to be, read several prayers; after which, as an anthem was being sung, he raised them up, and then gave them absolution,⁸⁴ as is witnessed not only by Egbert but by Leofric also.⁸⁵ That the absolution, if not always, was sometimes at least, spoken in the Anglo-Saxon tongue, seems certain,

agendum mandatum, ubi canentes antiphonas eidem operi congruentes, lavent et extergant pedes pauperum, atque osculentur; et data aqua manibus eorum, dentur etiam eis cibaria, fiatque secundum abbatis arbitrium in eis distributio nummorum. —*Reg. Conc.*, 87.

⁸⁴ *Oratio ad Reconciliandum Pœnitentem, Feria v., in Cœna Domini.* Adesto, Domine, supplicationibus, &c. *Alia.* Presta, quesumus Domine, huic famulo tuo dignum pœnitentiæ fructum, &c. Deus, humani generis, &c. *Oratio super pœnitentem.* Da nobis, Domine ut sicut publicani, &c. *Hic levas eos de pavimento his verbis dicendo, cunaturque antifona.* *Ant.* Vivo ego, dicit Dominus, nolo mortem peccatoris, &c. *Psalmus, Miserere mei Deus.* Absolvimus vos vice beati Petri Apostolorum principis cui Dominus potestatem ligandi atque solvendi dedit, &c.—*Egbert Pontifical*, 123, 124.

⁸⁵ The same service, as it used to be administered in the south and western parts of this land, may be (76) seen in the Leofric missal [ed. Warren, 92], where it is noticed thus:—*Feria v., quæ est Cœna Domini. Præsentatur pœnitens in gremio ecclesiæ, et prostrato omni corpore in terra, dat orationem sacerdos ad reconciliandum ita. An. Cor mundum, &c.*

from the fact that in the Egbert Pontifical, on the leaf at this place, is stitched a small strip of velum written with the following translation of the Latin text:—h. Broðor ða leofestan, we onlȳsað eow of sȳnna bendū on gewrixle ðaes eadegan Petres ðara Apostola ealdres, ðam ðe ure dryhten ðone anweald sealde sȳnna to gebindienne 7 eft to onlȳsenne. Ac swa miclum swa eow to belimpð eowra sȳnna gewregednes 7 us to gebyreð sio forgifenes, sie God aelmihtig lif 7 haelo eallum eowrum sȳnnum forgifen ðurh ðone ðe mid hun leofað 7 ricsað geond world aworld. Añ.⁸⁶

Some time after mid-day, and when none-song had been sung, a procession, formed of the clergy arrayed in their vestments, and bearing along with it a staff, the end of which was in the shape of a serpent, went down to the church-door. There, from out a flint, was struck fire, which was first hallowed,⁸⁷ and then used for lighting a candle that came out of the serpent's mouth. This staff, (77) with its burning taper, was next given over to the head-sacristan, who carried it back in the

⁸⁶ *Egbert Pont.* 158 [xvii].

⁸⁷ The Egbert Pontifical [129] gives the prayer for this blessing, thus:—*Benedictio Ignis.* Domine Deus noster, Pater Omnipotens, exaudi nos, lumen indeficiens: tu es sancte conditor omnium luminum, benedic, Domine, hoc lumen quod a te sanctificatum atque benedictum est. Tu inluminasti omnem mundum ut ab eo lumine accendamus, et inluminemur igni claritatis tuæ, sicut ignem inluminasti Moyse, ita inluminabis cordibus et sensibus nostris, ut ad vitam æternam pervenire mereamur. Per. The *Benedictio* [*Consecratio*] *ignis et cereæ comes* in the *Leofric Missal*, 223.

procession to the choir; and from that candle alone were lighted all the others needed that day in the church, or about the altar. The same ceremonial was repeated on Good Friday and Holy Saturday.

Immediately after this procession, then began high mass, in which the kiss of peace was not given at the *Agnus Dei*, unless the celebrant was a bishop. On this day, all partook of the blessed sacrament; and at this day's sacrifice, there was made a particular

Reservation of the Eucharist,

so that, under one kind, there might be not only the viaticum as usual if needed for the dying, but enough for the communion of all the people and clergy, and an especial particle for the celebrant on the morrow, Good Friday, the one day throughout the year whereon the church then forbade, as she yet forbids, the holy mysteries to be consecrated. The eucharist so reserved was reverently carried to a place set aside for it in the sacristy.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Dehinc hora congrua agatur nona; qua cantata, ob arcanum cuiusdam mysterii indicium, si ita placuerit, induant se fratres, et pergant ad ostium ecclesiæ ferentes hastam cum imagine serpentis, ibique ignis de silice excutiatur, illo benedicto ab abbate, candela quæ in ore serpentis infixæ est, ab illo accendatur, sicque edituo hastam deportante cuncti fratres chorum ingrediuntur; unusque dehinc cereus ex illo illuminetur igne. Sexta feria, eodem ordine agatur, ac a decano portetur. Sabbato similiter, a præpositoque deferatur. Et post hæc celebratio missæ, ad

But the most striking feature in this day's ceremonial, was the

Hallowing of the Holy Oils.

An ampul of gold held the chrism; other two of silver were got ready; one for the oil of exorcism, the other for the oil of the sick. The purest olive oil was sought for the purpose, but along with that for the chrism or creme, they mingled sweet smelling balsam. Then, as now, this chrism used to be employed in the consecration of bishops and priests, at the coronation of kings, and for the latter of the two unctions given at baptism, for the sacrament of confirmation, for anointing altars and the walls of a newly built church, and the blessing of bells. But besides these occasions, the Anglo-Saxons applied chrism to their deacons' hands in ordaining them, as well as for the blessing of crucifixes, when made of gold or silver.⁸⁹ The oil of exorcism

quam *Dominus vobiscum* minime dicatur nisi ab episcopo tantummodo ubi chrisma conficitur; a quo, etiam, in eucharistiæ acceptione, pacis osculum præsesbyteris, ter (78) *Agnus Dei* decantato, solummodo detur, ab aliis vero minime præsumatur: in qua missa, sicut et insequentium dierum communicatio præbetur tam fratribus quam cunctis fidelibus, reservata nihilominus eadem die eucharistia quæ sufficit ad communicandum cunctis altera die.
—*Reg. Conc.*, 87.

⁸⁹ Of this chrism, and its several ritual uses, thus speaks Bede: In urbe Judææ, quæ vocatur Engaddi, nobiliores cæteris vineæ nascuntur, utpote de quibus liquor non vini, sed opobalsami defluit . . . Namque in vineis Engaddi, ut præfati sumus, balsamum gignitur, quod in chrismatis confectione, liquori olivæ admisceri, ac pontificali benedictione solet consecrari, quatenus fideles omnes

was then, as now, (79) employed for the first of the unctions at baptism: the Anglo-Saxons, besides this, had other ritual and pious uses for it. The oil of the sick was used for aneling those whose sickness threatened them with speedy death.

In his epistle entitled *Quando dividis Chrisma*, Ælfric states to what parochial purposes these holy oils were applied:—"O ye mass-priests, my brothers, we will now say to you what we have not before said, because to-day we are to divide our oil, hallowed in three ways, as the book points out to us; i.e., *oleum sanctum, et oleum chrismatis, et oleum infirmorum*; that is, in English, holy oil, the second is chrism, and sick men's oil: and ye ought to have three flasks ready for the three oils, for we dare not put them together in one oil vessel, because each of them is hallowed apart for a particular service. With the holy oil ye shall mark heathen children on the breast, and betwixt the shoulders, in the middle, with the sign of the cross, before ye baptize it in the font-water; and when it comes from the water, ye shall make the sign of the cross on the head with the holy chrism. In the holy font, before ye baptize them, ye shall pour chrism in the figure of Christ's cross, and no one

cum impositione manus sacerdotalis, qua Spiritus sanctus accipitur, hac unctione signentur; qua etiam altare dominicum, cum dedicatur, et cætera quæ sacrosancta esse debent, perunguntur.—In *Cantica Canticorum*, ii. [*P.L.*, xci. 1097, 1098].

may be sprinkled with the font-water after the chrism is poured in.”⁹⁰

The oleum infirmorum, or oil for the sick, was blessed by the bishop, ere he began that short prayer in the canon, *Per quem: Through whom, O Lord, thou dost always create, sanctify, quicken, bless, and give us all these good things, &c.*, which goes immediately before the *Pater noster*. Unshrouded by any sort of veil, the ampul which held this oil was brought by a deacon to the bishop, who, stepping somewhat aside from the altar, then said (80) the prayers of blessing over it. When hallowed, this oil was either put to stand upon a column which had been set there for the purpose, or carried away and laid by at once in its own place; and the bishop went forwards with the holy sacrifice. Having ended mass, the bishop walked to his episcopal chair, and waited there for the procession, which, with much ritual solemnity, was about to fetch unto him from the sacristy, for consecration, the oil and balsam, or the chrism, and the oil of exorcism to be used at baptism.

In this procession walked acolytes, having lighted tapers in their candlesticks, clerks bearing crosses, thurifers with their smoking censers, and a deacon having in his hands a golden-bound book of the Gospels. The chrism, and the oil

⁹⁰ Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 391.

of exorcism or catechumens, were each carried muffled within the folds of a silken scarf, which fell about the shoulders of its bearer, though the oil for the sick had been taken before, uncovered, up to the bishop. Next came, arrayed in chasuble, and walking two and two, those priests, usually twelve, who were to bear witness, and help in the hallowing of these oils. This long line ended with a crowd of singing-boys, who as they went chanted that beautiful hymn, *Audi, judex mortuorum*. When the chrism had been breathed upon, and signed with the cross, and God's blessing called down, and it had been duly hallowed by the bishop, the golden ampul which held it was carried round, in a subdeacon's hands, to be kissed by all those about the altar. A like token of respect was also shown to the oil of exorcism, as it was borne in the hands of an acolyte to its proper place. The ceremonial for this function is set forth in more than one Anglo-Saxon codex. The Egbert Pontifical has full rubrics.⁹¹

⁹¹ *Feria v. in Cena Domini horu vi^{ta} celebratur missa ad Lateranis sic incipiens. Pontifex dicit, (81) Oremus. Tunc ponuntur in altare Sancta; et altare est cavum. Omnibus rite in altare compositis, oblata et libamenta, paucaque per ecclesiam luminaria accensa, diaconi dalmaticis vestiti, cerostata viiij. ante altare posita. Stante ante altare pontifice, et elevata dicente voce, Sursum corda. Respondet populus, Habemus ad Dominum, &c. . . . Finito Vere dignum. Dicit omnis clericus et populus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus. Sic intrat in missam usque: Sed venie, quæsumus Domine, largitor admittas. Per Christum. Tunc diaconus cardinalis sumet oleum pro infirmis, portet usque ad pontificem, at ille paululum divertens se ab altare, stans in*

In the Leofric Missal there are two services for the hallowing of the oils: the first is headed thus: *Feria v Cæna Domini in ultimo ad missam, &c. Conficitur chrisma*; ⁹² but the second, which was in all likelihood written some few years later, gives the rubrics at much greater length. ⁹³

suo gradu, signans oleum in manu diaconi, et orationem institutam supra tacite dicens.

Emitte, Domine Spiritum, Sanctum tuum Paraclytum de cœlis in hanc pinguedinem olivæ, &c. Oratione finita, ponebatur oleum supra columnam quandam, et sacerdos missam ordine sua celebrans dicit, Per quem hæc omnia, Domine, &c. . . . Libera nos, &c., Et pontifex tacite signat calicem cum oblata sanctificata, nemine respondente. Diaconi cōoperiant sacramenta. Facta missa, iterum in altare ascendente pontifice ad sedem suam, tunc archidiaconus ascendens cum chrismate, ampulam auream cum pallio albo habens in manu sua, et illud pallium mittens ex parte supra dexteram scapulam, stansque ante pontificem, et omnes episcopi et presbyteri et diaconi in circuitu ejus. Et ille pontifex tribus vicibus sufflans in ampulam tangens sua manu, dicit magna voce, Sursum corda. . . .

Benedictio chrismatis principalis. Vere dignum. Qui in principio, &c. . . . Et pontifex signat in modum crucis tribus vicibus cum pollice, et insufflat iterum tribus vicibus, cum halitu signat in crucis modum. Et subdiaconus suscipiens de manu archidiaconi portat cunctis in presbiterio stantibus ad osculandum. Alter vero cardinalis diaconus sequitur cum ampulla habens oleum exorcizatum, argenteo vestitus pallio fusco expansum supra humerum sinistrum (82) suum, ascendit ad pontificem. Et ille oleum signans, oratione consecrationis, nullo respondente, submissa quasi tacita magis voce benedicens. Exorcismus olei incipit,

Deus qui virtute Sancti Spiritus tui inbecillarum mentium rudimenta confirmas. . . .

Finita oratione consecrationis, ab accolitis ad salutandum propheratur, et in secretario ponatur. Communicante clero omnique populo, dicit pontifex omnibus communicantibus, Accepit Jesus panem. Oremus. Dicta oratione, respondit omnis populus. Amen.—Egbert Pontifical, 120–122.

⁹² *Leofric Missal, 222.*

⁹³ *Feria v. hoc est in Cæna Domini. . . . Ante missam uero faciant mandatum cum peregrinis et hospitibus. . . . Et ita per ordinem usque Per quem hæc omnia. Tunc offerantur pontifici oleum de ampullis*

(84) But besides such a solemn hallowing of the holy oils, our Anglo-Saxon brethren observed, during this day's mass, another rite, which consisted in

quas offerunt populi, unguendos tam infirmos quam energumīnos. Et in ultimo, antequam dicatur Per quem hæc omnia, exorcizet et benedicat illud, tam ipse quam omnes presbyteri qui assunt, ita ut tantum possit a circumstantibus audiri. . . . Item benedictio eiusdem olei, ad omnem languorem, quocumque tempore. . . . Et oleum reportetur et in loco suo conseruetur. Missu uero ordine suo agatur usque dum benedictiones episcopales (83) soluantur. . . . Et Pax Domini sit semper uobiscum. Tunc communicet solus pontifex ante altare, et diaconus offerat ei calicem, et non frangat oblatas, nisi eam solam unde ille communicat illo tantum die. Postquam communicauerit episcopus, ponat diaconus calicem super altare. Deinde acceptam a subdiacono patenam ponat iuxta calicem de lutere sinistro; et statim a duobus subdiaconis utrinque cooperiatur de sindone munda, quam prius preparauerant in ora altaris e regione pontificis, post corporalem expansam. Tunc dominus episcopus uadat ad sedem suam cum diaconibus, et expectet.

Ordo de Consecratione principalis crismatis. Expectante uero in sede sua pontifice, ueniant ad sacrarium .xii. presbyteri, et ceteri clerici, quantum opus sit ad deferendum cum omni decore oleum crismale, ac oleum catechuminum et neophitorum, usque in ecclesiam ante episcopum. Sint enim idem presbyteri parati, et cum eis ceteri clerici casulis et sollempnibus uestimentis. Tunc duo acoliti accipientes illas duas ampullas, quæ ad crisma et ad oleum catechuminum consecrari debent, inuolutas cum sindonibus de albo serico, ita ut uideri possint a medio. Teneant in brachio sinistro, proiectis sindonibus super scapulam sinistram, ita ut pertingant ad scapulam dextram; quatinus possint dependentia retineri. Et procedant, et ordinent se illi presbyteri et predicti clerici rite et ordinabiliter, ita ut primum ambulent duo acoliti cum candelabris et ardentibus cereis. Deinde portentur duæ cruces; et inter illas medium crismale oleum. Post eas portentur duo turibula cum incenso; et inter illa medium oleum catechuminum. Deinde portetur euangelium, ut impleatur omne bonum. Postea sequantur, bini et bini, illi .xii. presbyteri, testes et cooperatores eiusdem sacrosancti crismalis mysterii. Tunc uero subsequantur pueri, in laudem eiusdem mysterii concinentes hos uersus ad hoc congruentes: Audi, iudex mortuorum, una spes mortalium. Ibid., 256-258.

The blessing of Milk and Honey.

A short time before the celebrant came to the words *Per quem*, &c. in the canon at which, as we said just now, the oil for the sick was hallowed, a cup having in it milk mingled with honey was set on the altar, and over it he spoke this blessing-prayer, so that it might end that sentence, "through whom, O Lord, thou dost always create, sanctify, quicken, bless, and give us all these good things," &c.⁹⁴

The Washing of Feet,

or the "mandatum," or maundy, as it came to be called from those words of Christ, *Mandatum novum do vobis*—A new commandment I give you (St. John xiii. 34)—when He washed His apostles' feet,—and sung then, as now, by the Church on this occasion, was another religious rite, which, though practised at many (85) other times in the year, the clergy of a cathedral, and the monks in their minsters, observed, with more than usual

⁹⁴ The form in the Egbert Pontifical is somewhat shorter than in other codices: *In Cena Domini antequam dicatur Per quem hæc omnia. Benedictio lactis et mellis. Benedic, Domine, hæc creaturas fontis lactis et mellis; et pota famulos tuos de hoc fonte perenni, qui est Spiritus veritatis, et enutri eos de hoc melle et lacte; tu enim, Domine, promisisti patribus nostris Abrahamæ Isaac et Jacob dicens: Introducam vos in terram repromissionis, terram fluentem lacte et melle . . . Coniunge, Domine, famulos tuos Spiritu Sancto, sicut conjunctum est hoc lac et mel in Christo Jesu Domino nostro, qui tecum. Egbert Pontifical, 129. The Leofric Missal gives a like form (p. 224); and a longer one may be seen in the *Rituale Ecclesie Dunelmensis* [ed. Surt. Soc., p. 129].*

solemnity, on the day itself, commemorative of the Last Supper. A portion of the morning's earlier functions had already consisted in the ceremonial of washing the feet of the neighbouring poor and stranger-pilgrims;⁹⁵ but it was when evening came, and they went through this observance a second time, that the rite could be witnessed in all its fulness. As soon as even-song was over, a procession led the celebrant from the choir to the chapter-house, or some building beyond the church walls. Amid the crowd of clerks might be seen a deacon vested in a festive dalmatic, and carrying a large richly jewel-studded Gospel-book, to honour which, acolytes with lighted tapers in their hands, and a thurifer with a burning thurible, walked before him. On reaching the spot, whereat all due preparations had been made, the bishop washed, and dried, and kissed the feet of his upper clergy, or the abbot those of the elder monks in his house, as it might happen: the like was then done to this same personage, by the official next in dignity to himself. At this part of the ceremony used, in all likelihood, to be sung the hymn, *In Cæna Domini*, Tellus ac æthra jubilant; the strophes of which speak of those works of love wrought by Christ for man this day, and remembered in its rites, thus:

⁹⁵ In the *Leofric Missal* [p. 256, ed. Warren] we find this rubric: *Feria v. hoc est in Cæna Domini. . . . Ante missam uero faciant mandatum cum peregrinis et hospitibus.*

Hac nocte factor omnium
 Potenti sat mysterio,
 Carnem suam cum sanguine
 In escam transfert animæ.

(86) Pallet servus obsequio
 Cum angelorum Dominum
 Ferendo lympham linteo
 Cernit cœno procumbere.

And truly may we believe that, like the other peoples of Christendom in those ages, our Anglo-Saxon fathers were taught to let, more especially upon this solemn day, the bondsman go free for the love of their common Lord and Redeemer :—

Nexi solvuntur hodie
 Carnis ac cordis carcere
 Unguen sacrat chrismatis
 Spes inde crescit miseria.⁹⁶

When the washing of feet was done, they went in procession to the eating-hall; there the love-cup was sent about, and every one without exception sipped of its wine, along with which had, no doubt, been mixed a little of that milk and honey blessed before at that day's mass. All this while, the deacon, from a high reading-desk, con-

⁹⁶ In a codex of the missal written out at the desire, and for the use, of Ratold, abbot of Corbie (who died A.D. 986), Dom. Menard found this hymn, and has published it, together with its old notation, among his notes on the *Liber Sacramentorum* of St. Gregory [*P.L.*, lxxviii. 326]. As the reading of this MS. is evidently truer than that in the *Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (ed. Surtees Society, p. 80), we have given it the preference.

tinued to recite that chapter in St. John's Gospel (xiii. 1), descriptive of the Last Supper and the washing of feet.⁹⁷

The Still Days

was a name which the Anglo-Saxons gave to Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. The bells in all likelihood were not rung during these last three days of Holy Week, but the people were called to church (88) by the loud strokes from an iron knocker, or a wooden mallet

⁹⁷ The following rubrics from St. Dunstan's pen, sketch out to us a picture of a ceremony which, we may be sure, took place on this day in every large church throughout Anglo-Saxondom.

Peracta missæ celebratione, omnes ad mixtum pergant : (87) post mixtum, quos voluerit abbas ex fratribus, secum adsumens suum peragat mandatum ; quo peracto, vesperas celebrent, dehinc refectiōnem fratrum agant : post quam tempore congruo, eorundem agatur mandatum ; qui tamen fratres prius pedes suos diligenter emundent, venientesque ad mandatum hebdomadarii ministri, secundum morem suum abbatem antecedentes, mandatum agant, quos sequitur in chonca sua singulorum pedes lavans ministrantibus sibi quos voluerit ad hoc obsequium, quos extergat, et osculetur. Quo peracto, resideat abbas in sede sua, veniantque priores, et ei eadem exhibeant. Inde vero dum manus lavant, diaconus hebdomadarius, et reliqui ministri eant et induant se, signoque collationis moto, ingrediantur, diacono dalmatica induto cum textu Evangelii, præcedentibus cereis, et turibulo ; legaturque Evangelium secundum Johannem *Ante diem festum* donec tintinnabulum pulsetur : tunc præcedente processione subsequatur omnis congregatio, cunctisque in refectorio residentibus, idem diaconus stans prosequatur Evangelii sequentia imposito super ambone Evangelio. Interim abbas propinando circueat fratres cum singulis potibus singulorum osculans manus ; qua peracta ministratione, residente abbate dicatur *Tu autem Domine*. Tunc a priore propinetur abbat, et reliquis ministris qui assistebant, Evangelioque finito potibusque haustis, procedat processio, et exuant se fratres, sintque cum reliquis ad complendum.—*Reg. Conc.*, 87.

on a board that was light enough to be carried in the hands of a youth about the town, as Amalarius tells us.⁹⁸ Of this same time, too, Ælfric says: "Church customs forbid any sermon to be said on the three still days."⁹⁹ As on the last, so on this night "Tenebræ" were sung and accompanied with the same ceremonial.

Good Friday

brought along with it its own rites still peculiar to that mournful day. In the afternoon, about none-song tide, the people went to church, and there had read to them the Passion from St. John's gospel. At those words out of the Psalms, "They have parted my garments among them," two deacons, hastily as it were, stripped the altar of its linen cloth: then began the ceremony for

Kissing the Cross.

After the collects had been said, and while the choir was wailing forth those sorrowful yet love-sweetened upbraidings from Christ unto the Jews, "My people, what have I done to thee," with the

⁹⁸ Omnis salutatio deest in istis tribus diebus, sive noctibus ad vitandam salutationem pestiferam, qualem diabolus Judas exercuit. Necnon etiam altitudo signorum quæ fiebat per vasa ærea deponitur, et lignorum sonus usquequaque humilior æris sono, necessario pulsatur, ut conveniat populus ad ecclesiam.—*De Eccl. Offic.*, iv. 21 [Hittorp, 471].

⁹⁹ *Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, i. 219.

response of the Trisagion first in Greek and then in Latin, a muffled crucifix was held up by two deacons, who stood half-way between the choir and the altar. From this spot they carried this veiled rood towards the altar, before which they laid it down on a pillow. After due time this crucifix was unshrouded by the two (89) deacons, who, in doing so, uttered in a low chant, "Behold the wood of the Cross." Then barefoot, as he and all the other clergy were from the very beginning of this day's service, whoever happened to be the celebrant, whether bishop, abbot, or priest, came forward, and halting thrice on the way to throw himself on the ground, in most lowly wise kissed the crucifix. After him followed the clergy, then the people, to offer the same token of homage to their crucified Lord. All the while this kissing of the cross was going on, the choir sang those anthems — *Ecce lignum crucis, Crucem tuam adoramus, Dum fabricator mundi*, and the hymn *Pange Lingua*. At the conclusion of it all returned to their places.¹

¹ Inde Parascevæ agatur nocturna laus sicut supradictum est : post hæc venientes ad Primam, discalciati omnes incedant quousque crux adoretur. Eadem enim die, hora nona, abbas cum fratribus accedat ad ecclesiam, &c. Legitur *Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Johannem*. Ad illam passionem, diaconus non dicat *Dominus vobiscum*, sed *Passio Domini* et reliqua, nullo respondente *Gloria tibi Domine*; et quando legitur in evangelio *Partiti sunt vestimenta mea* et reliqua, statim duo diaconi nudent altare sindone quæ prius fuerat sub evangelio posita, in modum furantium: post hoc celebrentur orationes, et veniens abbas ante altare incipiat

The following is the rubric for the Good Friday service as contained in the Leofric Missal: *The bishop approaches alone and first adores, then kisses the cross. Then the priests, the deacons, and the rest come in their turn; and afterwards the people.*²

Besides the seven penitential psalms, special prayers of humble supplication, and adoration of the Crucified were sometimes said by the cele-

orationes solemnes quæ sequuntur. Quibus expletis per ordinem, statim præparetur crux ante altare, interposito spatio inter ipsam et altare, sustentata hinc et inde a duobus diaconibus. Tunc cantent *Popule meus*, respondentem autem duo subdiaconi stantes ante crucem canant Græce, *Agios o theos, Agios yschiros, Agios athanatos eleyson emas*. Itemque schola idipsum Latine *Sanctus Deus*. Deferatur tunc ab ipsis diaconibus ante altare, et eos acolitus cum pulvillo sequatur, super quem sancta crux ponatur, antiphonaque finita quam schola respondet Latine, canant ibidem sicut (90) prius *Quia eduxi vos per desertum*. Idem vero respondeant subdiaconi Græce sicut prius *Agios* ut supra; itemque schola Latine ut prius *Sanctus Deus*; itemque diaconi levantes crucem, canant sicut prius *Quid ultra*; item subdiaconi sicut prius *Agios* ut supra, itemque schola Latine *Sanctus Deus* ut supra. Post hæc vertentes se ad clerum, nudata cruce, dicant antiphonam *Ecce lignum crucis*; antiphonam *Crucem tuam adoramus*; antiphonam *Dum fabricator mundi: Pange lingua*. Illico, ea nudata, veniat abbas ante crucem sanctam, ac tribus vicibus se prosternat cum omnibus fratribus dexteris chori, scilicet senioribus ac iunioribus, et cum magno cordis suspirio septem poenitentiae psalmos cum orationibus sanctæ cruci competentibus decantando peroret . . . et eam humiliter deosculans surgat. Dehinc sinistra deosculans surgat. Dehinc sinisterioris chori omnes fratres eadem mente devota peragant, nam salutata ab abbate vel omnibus cruce, redeat ipse abbas ad sedem suam usque dum omnis clerus et populus hoc idem faciat.—*Reg. Conc.*, 87, 88.

² *Venit pontifex solus et adoratum deosculatur crucem. Deinde presbiteri, et diaconi, et ceteri per ordinem, deinde populus.*—Ed. Warren, 262.

brant, as with his ministers he knelt before the cross ere he kissed it.³

³ These prayers are given in the Egbert Pontifical, 134, 135. *Orationes dicendæ cum adoratur Sancta Cruz.* Domine Jesu Christe, gloriosissime conditor mundi, qui cum splendor gloriæ æqualis Patri Sanctoque Spiritui carnem immaculatam assumere dignatus es, et gloriosissimas tuas sanctas palmas crucis patibulo permisisti configi, ut claustra dissipares inferni, et humanum genus liberares a (91) morte : miserere mihi misero : oppressum facinore, ac nequitiarum labe sordidatum, non me digneris derelinquere, gloriosissime Domine, sed dignare mihi indulgere quod malum egi, exaudi me prostratum ad adorandam vivificam crucem tuam, ut in his sacris sollempnis tibi merear assistere mundus : qui vivis.

Alia.

Domine Jesu Christe, adoro te in cruce ascendentem, spineam coronam in capite portantem ; deprecor te, ut ipsa crux liberet me ab angelo percutiente.

Domine Jesu Christe, adoro te in cruce vulneratum, felle et aceto potatum : deprecor te, ut tua mors sit vita mea.

Domine Jesu Christe, adoro te descendentem ad inferos, liberantem captivos : deprecor te, ut non me permittas introire in pœnis inferni.

Domine Jesu Christe, adoro te ascendentem in cœlo, sedentem ad dexteram Patris : deprecor te, miserere mei.

Domine Jesu Christe, adoro te venturum in judicio : deprecor te, ut in tuo adventu ne intres in judicio cum famulo tuo, me peccatore, sed deprecor te, ut dimittas peccata mea ante quam judices. Amen.—*Egbert Pontifical*, 134, 135.

In one of the oldest liturgical manuscripts belonging to our Anglo-Saxon period,—so old indeed that Wanley thinks it to be one of those sent over hither by Pope St. Gregory to St. Austin (*Cat.* 222),—we find the following addresses to the cross [written in the leaves at the end of the volume in a hand of the eleventh century]:

(Oratio ad Crucem.)

O sanctum et venerabile nostri Redemptoris signum, &c. [f. 157^v].

(Alia.)

[O Jesu Christe, crucifixe domine. f. 158.]

Salve crux sancta et veneranda, &c. [f. 158^v].

(Salutatio, sive oratio ad crucem.)

Ave sancta crux omnium arborum gloriosissima [f. 159].

(92) Though not insisted on for general observance, there was a rubric that allowed a rite, at this part of the office, to be followed, which may be called

The Burial of the Rood.

At the hind part of the altar, and where the hollow within might be easily laid open, there was made a kind of sepulchre, hung all about with a curtain. Inside this recess, and just beneath the altar-stone itself, the cross, after the ceremony of kissing it had been done, was carried by its two deacons, who had, however, first wrapped it up in a linen cloth or winding-sheet. As they bore their burden along, they sang certain anthems till they reached this spot, and there they left the cross; and it lay thus entombed till Easter morn, watched all that while by two, three, or more monks, who chanted psalms through day and night. When the Burial was completed the

(*Alia.*)

Te Sancta Dei crux humiliter adoro [f. 160].

Cotton MS. *Vespasian*, A. 1 in the British Museum.—[*Cat. of Auct. MSS.*, Pt. ii. 8.]

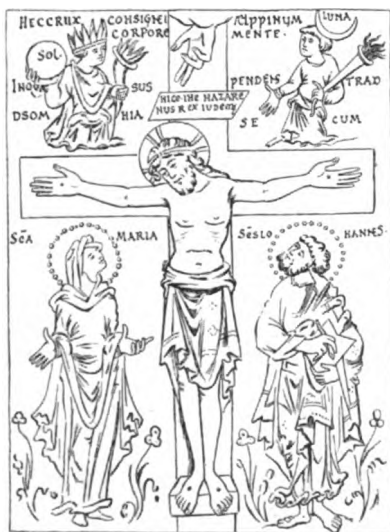
Why such a secondary respect or lower kind of worship—a distinction which the Anglo-Saxons from the beginning had been taught to know and make, as we said before (vol. iii. 155)—should be shown to the cross, is set forth in another codex:—
HÆ SUNT QUATUOR CAUSÆ QUIBUS SANCTA CRUX ADORATUR.
[Prima causa est; qui in una die septem cruces addit, aut septies unam crucem adoret, septem porte inferni clauduntur illi et septem portæ paradisi aperiuntur ei. Secunda causa est; si primum

deacon and sub-deacon came from the sacristy with the reserved host.⁴ Then followed

The Mass of the Pre-sanctified,
the rubrics for which may be seen in the Leofric

opus tuum tibi sit ad crucem, omnes dæmones si fuissent circa te, non potuissent nocere tibi. Tertia causa est; qui non declinat ad crucem non recepit pro se passionem Christi: qui autem declinat, recepit eam et liberabitur. Quarta causa est; quantam temæ† pergis ad crucem, quasi tantum de hereditate propria offeras domino.] *Cotton MS. Titus, D. xxvii. (sæc. x.) fol. 70.* There is [at fol. 65^v] an illumination of the crucifixion, and at the top these verses:

Haec crux consignet Ælfwinum corpore mente
In qua suspendens traxit Deus omnia secum.



⁴ Nam quia ea die (Paraschevæ) depositionem corporis Salvatoris nostri celebramus, usum quorundam religiosorum imitabilem ad fidem indocti vulgi ac neophitorum corroborandam æquiparando æqui, si ita cui visum fuerit vel sibi taliter placuerit, hoc modo decrevimus. Sit autem in una parte altaris qua vacuum fuerit,

Missal⁵ and St. Dunstan's "Rule."⁶ In this there was no consecration, but after the reading of the solemn prayers and lections of the day the reserved host was placed upon the altar with a chalice of unconsecrated wine. The Lord's Prayer was said as at the end of the Canon, with its bidding before it and its embolism after it, and

quædam assimulatio sepulchri, velamenque quoddam in giro ten-
sum, in quod dum sancta crux adorata fuerit, deponatur hoc
ordine. Veniant diaconi qui prius portaverunt eam, et involvant
eam sindone in loco ubi adorata est, tunc reportent eam canentes
antiphonam, *In pace in idipsum* (93) *habitabit*; item, *Caro mea re-*
quiescet in spe, donec veniant ad locum monumenti, depositaque
cruce, cum omni reverentia custodiatur usque dominicam noctem
resurrectionis. Nocte vero ordinentur duo fratres aut tres aut
plures, si tanta fuerit congregatio, qui ibidem psalmos decantando
excubias fideles exercent.—*Reg. Conc.*, 88.

⁵ Quibus peractis, egrediantur diaconus et subdiaconus de sac-
rario cum corpore Domini quod pridie remansit, et calice cum vino
non consecrato, et ponant super altare. Tunc sacerdos veniat
ante altare, et dicat voce sonora: *Oremus*; *Praeceptis salutaribus*
moniti, et *Pater noster*, inde *Libera nos quæsumus, Domine*, usque
Per omnia secula seculorum, et sumat abbas de sancto sacrificio, et
ponat in calicem nihil dicens, et communicent omnes cum silentio.—
Ibid., 88.

⁶ *Incipit ordo Feria vi. Passionis Domini. Hora nona procedant*
omnes ad ecclesiam, et egreditur sacerdos e sacrario cum sacris ordinibus
nihil canentibus, et veniunt ante altare; postulet pro se orare, dicens,
Oremus. Et adnuntiat diaconus, Flectamus genua. Et post paul-
ulum, Leuate. Et dat orationem hanc Deus a quo et Judas reatus
sui pœnam, et confessionis suæ latro premium sumpsit; conce-
(de) nobis tuæ propitiationis effectum, ut sicut in passione sua
Jesus Christus, dominus noster diuersa utrisque intulit stipendia
meritorum, ita nobis ablato uetustatis errore, resurrectionis suæ
gratiam largiatur. Qui tecum uiuit. Istas orationes expletas, in-
grediuntur diaconi in sacrario, et procedunt cum corpore Domini sine
uino consecrato, quod altera die remansit, et ponunt super altare et dicit
sacerdos. Oremus. Preceptis salutaribus moniti, et diuina insti-
tutione formati audemus dicere, Pater noster. Et adorata cruce,
communicent omnes.—*Leofric Missal*, 94, 96.

the commixture was made in silence. Then followed the communion of all who were present.

(94) The meaning of these customs is embodied in one of Ælfric's canons, which says: "Housel may not be hallowed on Good Friday, because Christ suffered on that day for us; but there must, nevertheless, be done what appertains to that day; so that two lectures be read with two expositions, and with two collects, and Christ's Passion; and afterwards, the prayers. And let them pray to the holy rood, so that they all greet the rood of God with kiss. Let the priest then go to the altar of God, with the housel bread that he hallowed on Thursday, and with unhallowed wine mixed with water, and conceal it with the corporal, and then immediately say, 'Oremus præceptis salutaribus moniti,' and 'Pater noster,' to the end. And then let him say to himself, 'Libera nos quæso Domine ab omnibus malis'; and aloud, 'Per omnia secula seculorum.' Let him then put a part of the housel into the chalice, as it is, however, usual; then let him go silently to the housel; and for the rest, let look who will."⁷

On

Holy Saturday,

as on the two foregoing days, the service did not begin till the hour for singing none-song,

⁷ *Canons of Ælfric*, in Thorpe, ii. 359, § 36.

that is, in the afternoon ; and the first of its rites was the hallowing of

The Paschal or Easter Fire.

By this name must we call the blessing of the fire upon Holy Saturday among the Anglo-Saxons and such of the German nations as they brought, by the apostolic toils of St. Boniface, St. Wilbrord, and other missionaries sent thither from this country, to believe in Christ. Not only here at home, but when they went to preach abroad, the (95) hallowing of fire on this day was done by the Anglo-Saxons with some liturgical splendour, and after a certain way almost peculiar to themselves. It would seem that the olden custom was to catch, by means of a burning-glass, the first spark of fire for this day's service from the sun, from heaven as it were, as often as the weather would allow ; but if the sky happened to be clouded, the fire was struck from out a flint.

All the peoples of northern Europe kept, until they threw off heathenism and became Christians, a great festival at spring-tide, in honour of the sun ; for they worshipped this luminary as the giver to the earth of light and heat. To make good come out of evil, and to bring men to yield their worship, not to the works themselves, but unto God who wrought them, the Church thought fit to snatch from this ceremony its heathenish, and bestow upon it instead a Christian, meaning ; and

for this end she hallowed the new fire at Easter time.⁸ In those ages, Easter Sunday was looked upon as the first day of the new year: fire, even to the last spark, was everywhere put out, in the public minster and parish church, as well as the private dwelling, from the king's house downwards to the hind's hovel. Late on the eve of the coming year, the Church hallowed while she renewed the fire for her own use in the ritual, and for her children's use within the walls of their private homes. 'To teach the world how everything must (96) come to us from God, it was from the sun's rays—from heaven as it were—that the Church fetched her new fire. After it had been solemnly blessed, light was taken from this flame to kindle the thurible, to light the lamps hung about the altar, and the tapers carried in the acolytes' hands at the holy sacrifice. That day men and women took home with them a light from the sanctuary; and the hearth that had all day long been cold and brandless now became warm and bright once more, and the evening candle shone bright again, with a flame from the new hallowed fire. For church-use at least, this fire might truly be said to have lived the whole

⁸ Thus did our St. Boniface in Germany; and a remembrance of it was, till a late period, kept up there:—*Inclytæ famæ, sumptuosarumque victimarum idolum cui Retto nomen, deturbavit* (St. Bonifacius). . . . *Factum autem adhuc hominum memoria, ut in deturbatæ superstitionis memoriam luculentus ipso resurrectionis die, ignis qui Paschalis etiam alibi vocatur excitaretur.*—Serarius, *Moguntiacarum Rerum*, iii. 474.

year through, for as lamp was lighted from lamp, it thus crept on burning from one Holy Saturday to another. Our own Beda tells us, "that other fire than what comes down from heaven may not burn in the holy lamps nor be lighted on God's altar."⁹ This passage is quite darksome to such as do not know the above-mentioned fact; for him who does, our venerable countryman's words lend no small help to understand the very custom from which they borrow their own meaning. How this fire is to be got from heaven, our St. Boniface indirectly hints, in the question to Pope Zachary, whom he asks whether at Rome they employed for that purpose a crystal, no doubt as his own countrymen the Anglo-Saxons did, like a burning-glass, to catch this fire from above: the pontiff's answer shows that it was not a Roman usage.¹⁰

From the olden ritual, and the early liturgical writers in those parts of Germany which heard

⁹ Nec ignis alius quam qui de cœlo descendit, vel in lucernis sanctis ardere vel in altari Dei debet accendi.—*De Tabernaculo*, iii. 1 [*P.L.*, xci. 463].

¹⁰ De igne autem paschali quod inquisisti, a sanctis priscis Patribus, ex quo per Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi gratiam, et pretioso sanguine ejus Ecclesia dedicata est, quinta feria Paschæ, dum sacrum chrisma consecratur (97) tres lampades magnæ capacitatis, ex diversis candelis ecclesiæ oleo collecto, in secretiori ecclesiæ loco ad figuram interioris tabernaculi insistente, indeficienter cum multa diligentia inspectæ ardebunt, ita ut oleum ipsum sufficere possit usque ad tertium diem. De quibus candelis sabbato sancto pro sacri fontis baptismate sumptus ignis per sacerdotem renovabitur. De crystallis autem, ut asseruisti, nullam habemus traditionem.—Zacharias Bonifacio, in *Epist. S. Zachar.*, xiii. [*P.L.*, lxxxix. 951].

and took their Christian belief from Anglo-Saxon preachers, we may fairly draw some few hints of what must have once been the practice in our own land. That this new fire, then, was got, not only by striking sparks from a flint, but also through a burning-glass, when the sky was cloudless and the sun's rays strong enough, we gather from Rupert abbot of Duyts (c. A.D. 1111).¹¹ In some ritual customs which St. Ulric (who was made bishop of Augsburg A.D. 924) first set forth, but in after times became adopted for the guidance of their house by certain Cluniac monks, we find that the burning-glass employed for this liturgical purpose used to be carried, as one of the Church's solemn appliances, in the great procession on Holy Saturday, and afterwards kept (98) with no small care. From its being called a precious stone, or beril, we are led to think that it generally was a fine large piece of rock-crystal mounted in a frame of gold or silver: the duty of keeping it, and of carrying it in the procession belonged to the apocrisiarius, or principal custodian of the church.¹² For this

¹¹ Amisso igne, qui ad matutinos . . . extinguitur, ad lapidem per eosdem tres dies confugimus, ut vel lapidem percutientes, ex abstrusis ejus venis ignem occultum eliciamus, vel liquidum crystalli lapidem sereno coelo soli objicientes, radium ejus trajectum per ejusdem crystalli orbiculum spectabili miraculo in subjectam suscipiamus escam.—*De Divinis Officiis*, v. 28 [Hittorp, 953].

¹² Post nonam statim sacerdote alba induto, et caeteris ad majorem missam servituris, faciunt processionem ad novum ignem consecrandum cantantes psalmum 50^{mum}. Ante processionem

evening's service, and to burn at stated hours through the period from Easter till Ascension day—besides answering as a symbolical object—there was got ready a tall, thick wax-light, called

The Paschal Candle,

that used to be set near the north ambo, upon its own high candlestick. Standing in this pulpit, a deacon sang, after a particular and solemn manner, the blessing of this candle, as well as of the incense, large knobs of which, or as they are now named, "grains," were stuck upon it at one part of this ceremony. Whether the Anglo-Saxons wreathed this light with flowers,¹³

portatur crux, aqua benedicta et thuribulum, tamen sine igne; ut novus ignis, postquam consecratus fuerit, aspergatur et incensetur ad benedicendum. . . . Ipso die rite lumen in pertica portatur a custode ecclesiae, in Parasceve a priore, in Sabbato Sancto a domino abbate vel a sacerdote, lapis pretiosus berillus in quo ignis est producendus, sub custodia apocrisarii servatur; quem tantum praecentori adhibet, ut ab eo ignis proferatur; eundemque ipso die, in processione idem major ecclesiae custos bajulat.—*Antiq. Consuetudines*, i. 12 [*P.L.*, cxlix. 658].

¹³ The Paschal candle having wreaths of flowers about it, with the deacon in the ambo singing the "Exultet," is shown, from a MS. of the eleventh century, at vol. i. p. 167 of this work; and a like representation from another roll, with the "Exultet" of the same period, may be seen in D'Agincourt's beautiful work, plate 55, of painting. These *Exultet* rolls are some among the rarest liturgical codices. Being much illuminated and narrow, they stretched out to some length: one still kept at Monte Casino is twelve feet long, and a little more than nine inches broad. As the deacon went on unrolling it, that part which he had sung fell before him outside the ambo; hence the illuminations, that they might be seen in their true position by the

as was done in those times abroad, (99) or whether they followed the then Roman usage



The Deacon singing the *Exultet*.

people, had to be limned wrong-wise up with regard to the writing. [These features are exemplified in the illumination reproduced above from Brit. Mus. MS. 30,337, which is one of these Italian *Exultet* rolls. The children are represented gathered under the ambo in order to look at the picture; while the illumination itself is set upside down on the roll as will be seen; for on inverting the page, part of the Deacon's *Exultet* will be recognised—*O vere beata nox*, &c., with its Lombardic neums over it.] The usage itself, of twining the Paschal candle with wreaths, is thus mentioned in an old Ambrosian missal:—*Quid enim magis accommodatum, magisque festivum, quam Jesseico*

of writing upon it the date of the year, we do not now know, though Beda distinctly speaks of this latter custom.¹⁴ In the Egbert Pontifical there is a special rubric and prayer for the blessing of the incense.¹⁵ The codex which is known as the Leofric Missal, though it contains two Pontificals bound up into one volume, gives at full length the blessing of the Paschal candle. When this ceremony was done, and another smaller candle, as well as the two acolytes' tapers, had been lighted, a subdeacon went up into the south side ambo, or pulpit, and read the lessons. These over, there was sung the seven-form litany;¹⁶

flori floreis excubemus ut tedis? præsertim cum et sapientia de semetipsa cecinerit: Ego sum flos agri et lilium convallium.—*Ambros. Missal. Ordo*, in Pamelius, *Liturgicon*, i. 346.

¹⁴ Sancta siquidem Romana et apostolica Ecclesia hanc se fidem tenere et ipsis testatur indiculis, quæ suis in cereis annuatim scribere solet, ubi tempus Dominicæ passionis in memoriam populis revocans, numerum annorum . . . adnotat.—*De Temp. Ratione*, xlvii. [*P.L.*, xc. 494, 495].

¹⁵ *Benedictio incensi in Sancto Sabbato antequam benediceris cereum, et ipsum debes mitti in cereum in ipso loco ubi dicitur Suscipe incensi. Deus Omnipotens, Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, inmitte in hanc creaturam incensi vim odoris tui vel virtutem, ut sit servulis tuis et ancillis munimentum tutelæque defensionis, ne intret hostis in viscera eorum. aditumque et sedem habere non possit, per Te Jesum Christum Filium Dei, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas per cuncta sæcula. Alii. Domine Deus Omnipotens cui adstat exercitus angelorum cum (100) tremore, quorum servitus in vento et igni convertitur: dignare, Domine, respicere et benedicere et sanctificare hanc creaturam tuam incensi, ut omnes languores et insidiæ odorem ipsius sentientes effugiant, et separentur a plasmatu quam pretioso sanguine redemisti, ut nunquam ledatur a morsu antiqui serpentis. Per.—**Egbert Pont.*, 130, 131.

¹⁶ It is thus described in an old "Ordo": Interim schola jussa facit litaniam ad fontem ante altare, primo septenam, et spatio

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the procession then went down, and carried to the font the smaller wax candle alight, together with the chrism and the oil of the catechumens, for hallowing the baptismal font. After the blessing of these waters, and the administration, to a few children, of baptism, solemn high mass began. By the time the celebrant had to give out the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, the whole church glistened with the beams of a crowd of lamps and (101) tapers newly lighted, and every bell in the steeple swung out its gladness. While the holy communion was being distributed to those who wished to have their housel, *Alleluia* burst forth from the singers' lips; a short psalm, followed by an anthem and the *Magnificat*, was chanted; and thus mass and even-song were ended at the same moment.¹⁷ That the new-

facto, faciunt alteram quintam; ita enim inchoatur. Stat primicerius unus in dextro choro, et dicit cum illo, "Kyrie eleison," et respondet secundicerius cum sinistro choro, "Kyrie eleison," usque ter. Deinde, "Christe eleison," usque ter. hoc sunt septem vices repetitae, unde et septenae dicuntur. Post haec, "Christe audi nos," usque septies, et sic per ordinem. Hoc ordine, intervallo facto sequuntur, ut praedictum est, litaniae quinque, id est, quinque repetitae.—*Ordo Romanus*, Hittorp, 83; See *Leofric Missal*, 96

¹⁷ An outline of this day's ritual may be seen, as the pen of St. Dunstan once sketched it: *Sabbato Sancto, hora nona, veniente abbate in ecclesiam cum fratribus, novus, ut supra dictum est, afferatur ignis. Posito vero cereo ante altare, ex illo accendatur igne. Quem diaconus more solito benedicens, hanc orationem quasi voce legentis proferens dicat: Exultet tam Angelica turba coelorum. Tunc voce sublimiore dicat, Sursum corda, et reliqua. Finita benedictione, accendatur alter cereus, et tunc illuminantur duo cerei tenentibus duobus acolitibus unus in dextro cornu altaris et alter in sinistro. Benedictione peracta, ascendat subdiaconus ambonem, legat lectionem primam, . . . Finita oratione, inchoen-*

born children, baptized to-day, were given, like those elder believers who had received the housel or eucharist on Maundy Thursday, to taste of milk and honey that had been blessed, seems probable, at least in the first ages of the Anglo-Saxon Church. To this end the cup of honey and milk was hallowed after the same way which we before noticed. For all, both young and old,—for the neophyte just baptized, as well as for him who had many years before been reborn through those same life-giving waters, Easter was a season of renewed strength. That her children might make holy their Paschal feast under the second and better dispensation, and taste of that ghostly happiness nowhere to be found but within her fold, the Church, in her services at Eastertide, said unto them, in words like those spoken to the Israelites by Moses,—“The Lord hath brought you into a land that floweth with milk

tur litanie septenſe ad introitum ante altare. Poſtea deſcendat abbas cum ſchola canentes litanias quinas ad fontes benedicendos. Sequitur, *Omnipotens ſempiternus Deus*, et præfatio. His expletis, redeunt ad altare cum litania terna, et antequam cantatur *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, magiſter ſcholæ dicat alta voce, *Accendite*, et tunc illuminentur omnia luminaria eccleſiæ, et abbate incipiente, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, pulſentur omnia ſigna . . . Ante evangelium non portantur luminaria in ipſa nocte, ſed incenſum tantum. Finito evangelio, dicat abbas, *Dominus vobiscum*, *Oremus*. In ipſo die non cantatur *Offertorium*, nec *Agnus Dei*, nec *Communio*, et pacem non debet dare niſi iis qui communicant; ſed interim dum communicantur, *Alleluia*, et *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes* cantatur; dehinc antiphona, *Vespere autem ſabbati*, et *Magnificat*. Sic ſacerdos miſſam ac (102) vespertinalem ſinaxim una compleat oratione.—*Reg. Conc.*, 89.

and honey" (Exodus xiii. 5); and again, with the prince of the apostles, begged of them thus: "As new-born babes desire the rational milk without guile, that thereby you may grow unto salvation" (1 Peter ii. 2).

Easter Sunday

had one rite which exclusively belonged to itself, and consisted in showing how the two Maries and Salome made their sunrise

Visit to the Sepulchre

of our Lord. As the last lesson at matins was being read, four members of the choir vested themselves, three in copes, the fourth in an alb only. This last personage went to the place at the altar wherein, on Good Friday, had been laid, as it were in the grave, a crucifix wrapped up in an altar-cloth for a winding-sheet. Ere he rang the (103) bell for matins, before break of day, the sacristan had taken away this cross out of the sepulchre, but left the linen shroud lying at its mouth. The clerk, arrayed in an alb, and holding a palm-branch in one hand, seated himself by this tomb, and thus personified the watching angel at Christ's burial-place in the garden. The other three in copes, each carrying a thurible that smoked with incense, and seemingly in earnest search of something, crept on slowly

towards that spot. This they did, to represent how "Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, brought sweet spices, that coming they might anoint Jesus" (Mark xvi. 1). As soon as these three got near him, the one in the alb sang in a low soft mellow strain, and asked whom they sought. Answering all together, these three chanted, "Jesus of Nazareth." To this the other replied, "He is risen, He is not here: behold the place where they laid Him. Go and tell that He has arisen from the dead." Turning about to the people, these three arrayed in copes cried out, "Alleluia, the Lord is risen."¹⁸ Then the one personating the angel sang, "Come and see the place"; after which he stood up and showed them that the crucifix was gone from out the tomb, and how there was nothing there but a winding-sheet. On beholding this to be so, they set their thuribles down and left them within the hollow where the cross had lain, singing, in the meanwhile, "The Lord is risen from the sepulchre." When they had held up this linen cloth to be seen all through the church, they spread it on the altar. Then was sung by the whole choir the hymn "Te Deum," and immediately after followed lauds.¹⁹

¹⁸ See vol. ii., p. 345 of this work, for the Latin directions of the *Regularis Concordia*.

¹⁹ The rubrics for the latter part of this liturgical representation on Easter morn as given by St. Dunstan are (104):—*Dicto hoc rursus ille residens veluti revocans illos dicat antiphonam Venite*

(105) At this morning's solemn mass, all kinds of food for man, but, in particular, what was meant to be for that Easter-day's dinner-meal, especially

Lamb or other flesh meat, was blessed

at the altar by the celebrant on coming to those words in the canon, "Through whom," &c.²⁰

Every afternoon all through Easter week there was made, between even-song and complin,

et videte locum. Hæc vero dicens, surgat et erigat velum, ostendatque eis locum cruce nudatum, sed tantum linteamina posita, quibus crux involuta erat, quo viso deponant thuribula quæ gestaverunt in eodem sepulchro, sumantque linteum, et extendant contra clerum ac veluti ostendentes quod surrexerit Dominus et jam non sit illo involutus, hanc canant antiphon; *Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro*, superponantque linteum altari. Finita antiphona, prior congaudens pro triumpho regis nostri, quod devicta morte surrexit, incipiat hymnum *Te Deum laudamus*, quo incepto una pulsantur omnia signa, post cujus finem dicat sacerdos versum: *In resurrectione tua Christe*, verbo tenus, et initiat matutinas dicens *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, &c.—*Reg. Conc.*, 89.

²⁰ The form for such a service may be learned from the following, out of the Egbert Pontifical:—*Benedictio super carnem agni in Pascha antequam dicatur* Per quem hæc omnia. Deus universe carnis, qui Noe et filiis suis de mundis et inmundis animalibus precepta dedisti; qui agnum in Ægypto Moysi et populo tuo in vigilia Pasche comedere præcepisti in figura agni Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cujus sanguine omnia primogenita tibi de mundo redemisti, in nocte illa omne primogenitum in Ægypto peremisti, servans populum tuum agni sanguine pernotatum: dignare, Domine Omnipotens, benedicere et sanctificare has ovium mundarum carnes, ut quicumque ex populis tuis fidelibus comederint, omni benedictione cœlesti, et gratia tua saturati repleantur in bonis. Per. *Alia benedictio carnis quadrupedum ipso die Pasche.* Deus, qui ex divina providentia. . . Te supplices exoramus et poscimus, ut hanc carnem quadrupedum seu volucrum benedicere et sanctificare digneris.—*Egbert Pontifical*, 129, 130.

A procession to the newly-blessed font ;

and the clergy, as they went down the nave, sang the CXII. [cxiii.] Psalm, "Praise the Lord, ye children," &c.; and at the font itself was said a collect.²¹

From Easter to Whitsuntide the custom was to pray, not kneeling as at other seasons of the year, but standing; and while speaking of this ritual usage, our Bede affords us an explanation of it by connecting it with the fact that the Holy women, at the sight of the angels on the morning of the Resurrection, did not fall to the ground, but are said to have looked down to the ground.²²

Every day throughout the same period, as well as upon all Sundays the year round (except from Septuagesima till Easter), *Alleluia* used to be sung, to betoken the Christian's hope of a happy

²¹ Ad vesperam *Dixit Dominus*; *Confitebor*; *Beatus vir* cum antiphona sine capitulo, (106) grad. *Hæc dies*, sine versu, *Alleluia* cum versu, et sequentia. Postea inchoetur antiphona in evangelio, et collecta: dehinc eatur ad fontes, psalmum *Laudate pueri* cum antiphona canentes quem sequatur collecta. Completorium more peragatur *Canonicorum* per omnia, &c. Hic in reliquis sex diebus teneatur ordo.—*Reg. Conc.*, 90.

²² Et notandum quod sanctæ mulieres astantibus sibi angelis non in terram cecidisse, sed vultum dicuntur in terram declinasse. Nec quempiam sanctorum legimus tempore *Dominicæ* resurrectionis, vel ipso Domino, vel angelis sibi visis, terræ prostratum adorasse. Unde mos obtinuit ecclesiasticus, ut vel in memoriam *Dominicæ*, vel in nostræ spem resurrectionis, et omnibus dominicis diebus et toto quinquagesimæ tempore, non flexis genibus, sed declinatis in terram vultibus oremus.—*Expos. in Lucæ Evang.*, xxiv. [*P.L.*, xcii. 624].

resurrection, and in praise of Christ's uprising from the grave upon the first day of the week, as the same light of the Anglo-Saxon Church, St. Beda, tells us.²³

(107) The procession all about the fields and lanes of a country parish, and through the streets and alleys of the town, on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, before the feast of the Ascension, and now called Rogation week, but then

The Gang Days,

has been already noticed in this work (vol. iii., pp. 181, 182, 297). A theft committed on any one of these three days, was, by Alfred's laws, sconced in a two-fold "bot" or fine,²⁴ as if it had been a Sunday or one of the higher Church holydays. How all the gang-day service used to be performed—how a crucifix and the relics of the saints borne along in a shrine, were carried about the highways and byways of this land, the while the litanies were sung; and how, as the procession stopped every now and then on its road, the whole crowd of following people knelt down and begged forgiveness of God for their sins, may be found set forth by the council of Clovesho (A.D. 747).²⁵

²³ Nam et Alleluia Dominicis diebus totoque Quinquagesimo tempore propter spem resurrectionis, quæ in Domini est laude futura, continue canit ecclesia.—*Explan. Apocal.* xix. [*P.L.*, xciii. 188]. The "Quinquagesimæ tempus" is the space between Easter and Whitsuntide.

²⁴ Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, i. 64.

The Use of Lights

among the Anglo-Saxons in the liturgy, is brought to our knowledge by many of their ritual observances, as well as through some of their laws binding layfolks to bring, at (108) certain feasts, a specified weight of wax for such a purpose.

At his ordination, the youth made acolyte had a candlestick with a taper put into his hands, as the bishop told him that his office would now be to look after the church-lights. Beda's beautiful sketch of the abbot Ceolfrid's leaving the minsters of Wearmouth and Jarrow to begin his road Rome-ward, besides its glance at the liturgical employment of lights, sets before our eyes that ritual form wherewith the Anglo-Saxons speeded a well-beloved friend on his pilgrimage. At day dawn, mass was sung in the church of the ever-Virgin Mary, Mother of God: after another mass in St. Peter's, and at which each one present was houseled along with him, Ceolfrid made himself ready to start. The brotherhood met in the church: there, as with a thurible in his hand, he stood upon one of

²⁶ Ut litanie, id est rogationes a clero omnique populo his diebus cum magna reverentia agantur id est . . . tres dies ante ascensionem Domini in cælos, cum jejuniis usque ad horam nonam, et Missarum celebratione venerentur . . . cum timore et tremore, signo passionis Christi, nostræque æternæ redemptionis, et reliquiis sanctorum ejus coram portatis, omnis populus genuflectendo divinam pro delictis humiliter exoret indulgentiam.—Cap. xvi. *De Diebus Litaniarum*, in Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 97.

the steps of the altar whereat he had, a moment before, offered up incense and said a prayer, Ceolfrid gave unto all the kiss of peace. Hence they led him forth, as they chanted the litanies which their sobs and sighs often broke in upon. At the head of this procession walked the deacons of the church carrying a crucifix which was of gold, and lighted tapers; and these same deacons not only went, like the rest, with their departing abbot, to the water's edge, but got into the boat which took him over the stream, on the other side of which his horse awaited him. After he had knelt and kissed this crucifix surrounded by the lights borne about it, Ceolfrid mounted, and rode off.²⁶ How lighted tapers that had been hallowed were (109) borne about in the people's hands as all went a procession to honour the B. V. Mary, every year, upon that one of her festivals which was therefore called "Candlemas," we have already noticed. [See p. 67 of this vol.] The Christian wife, too, who, xl. days after child-birth, came, like our blessed Lady, to the house of God for her churching, brought along with her, besides some small offering gift, a wax-taper to be lit for the ceremony, as we learn from Archbishop Theodore's Penitential.²⁷

²⁶ Ascendunt et diacones aecclesiæ cereas ardentis et crucem ferentes auream, transiit flumen, adorat crucem, ascendit equum et abiit.—Beda, *Hist. Abbat.*, 17 [Plummer, i. 382].

²⁷ Mulier . . . post partum, xl. diebus et noctibus, sive masculum sive feminam genuerit; et tunc cum lumine et oblatione intret ecclesiam.—Theodore, *Lib. Penit.*, in Thorpe, ii. 12.

In more than one passage of his writings, our Beda drops words which, though few and never meant for such an end, bring up before our eyes a glimpse of many an usage about which we can no where else find such a strong testimony. Wishful, by the easiest illustration that might be found anywhere, to make his readers understand how it happened that the moon, at the summer solstice, seems to be higher in the sky than the sun, our learned countryman, while choosing the two large chandeliers (called *pharus*), that hung far away from each other in a church, for his example, says to us, without a thought to do so, how the cathedrals and minsters of this country used, in those ages, to be lighted up at night, on the saints' festivals, with more or less brightness, according to that degree of veneration in which they happened to be held by the faithful who took such means for honouring God's now happy servants.²⁸

In one of his homilies, Beda not only tells us that this "pharus" was a large bronze hoop studded with lamps, but he lets us know that to his mind,—and of course, he uttered the feelings of his own countrymen at that period,—the

²⁸ Intrabis noctu in aliquam domam prægrandem, certe ecclesiam, longitudine, latitudine, et altitudine præstantem, et innumera lucernarum ardentium copia, pro illius cujus natalis est martyris honore repletam, inter quas duæ (110) maximæ ac mirandi operis pharis suis quæque suspensæ ad laquearia catenis, &c.—*De Temp. Ratione*, xxvi. [*P.L.*, xc. 410].

figure of the cross when wreathed in such a crown of light had shown it a homage that was but its due. What Beda praised was, no doubt, practised at his time all over this country, and a ring of light shone around the cross in every large Anglo-Saxon church when the higher festivals of the year were kept.²⁹ To find these lights about the church and at the altar, it was decreed that besides those willing gifts which pious people might like to bestow for this purpose, each one according to the extent of land he had, should pay into his parish church, thrice a year (viz. at Candlemas, again at Easter, and lastly at Allhallows'-tide), a certain quantity of wax under the name of "light-shot."³⁰

But if the tapers carried about on Candlemas day, and the boughs of yew or flowery willow on Palm Sunday, (111) were hallowed—if, indeed, whatever happened to be put into use for God's worship had first to be blessed, there was one thing in every such benediction which the rubrics always required to be employed, and that was

²⁹ Golgothana est ecclesia, quæ inter alia ornamenta tali loco congrua crucem argenteam habet pergrandem in loco quo Dominus crucifigi pro nostra est salute dignatus; pendente magno pharo desuper, id est ærea rota cum lampadibus, quæ ipsam crucem debita lucis veneratione coronent. — *Hom.*, ii. 4. *Infra octavas Pasch.* [*P. L.*, xciv. 153, 154].

³⁰ Let light-scot be paid at Candlemas; let him do it oftener who will.—*Laws of K. Ethelred*, in Thorpe, i. 343. And light-scot thrice in the year; first, on Easter-eve, a halfpenny worth of wax for every hide; and again, on Allhallows' mass, as much; and again, on the Purification of St. Mary, the like.—*Laws of K. Cnut*, in Thorpe, i. 367.

HOLY WATER.

Its use is one of the earliest rites to be found in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church. "Tell our brother Austin," says Pope Gregory to Mellitus, "that having a long time thought over to myself the affairs of the English, I deem it best that the temples of the idols among that people should not be pulled down; but after the idols themselves have been broken, let holy water be blessed and sprinkled all over those temples, and then altars may be set up and relics put within them."³¹

That holy water was often taken home from church and cast about their houses by the believing Anglo-Saxons, we gather from the words of Archbishop Theodore, who says: "Let the inhabitants sprinkle their houses with hallowed water as often as they wish."³² As the hand sprinkled this water, prayers beseeching God to shield that house and its inmates from harm of soul and body were said.³³

In the public trial by the hot iron ordeal the

³¹ Dicite ei (sc: fratri nostro Augustino episcopo) quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi; videlicet, quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa, quæ in eis sunt, idola destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiæ ponantur.—Beda, *Hist. Ecc.*, i. 30.

³² Aqua benedicta domos suas aspergant quotiens voluerint, qui habitant in eis.—Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 58.

³³ *Durham Ritual*, 122.

sprinkling of holy water upon all who bore a part or stood witness in it, was not the least conspicuous rite which had to be observed. "Let," say the Laws of Æthelstan, "let the (112) mass-priest sprinkle holy water over them all, and let each of them taste of the holy water, and give them all the book and the image of Christ's rood to kiss."³⁴ Then as now, a little salt was mingled in the water after each had been separately exorcised and hallowed, with the self-same prayers which the Church still uses for the purpose, as may be seen in the Egbert Pontifical,³⁵ and the so-called Durham Ritual.³⁶

If holy water was often, oftener still was the

Sign of the Cross

employed at their public ritual and private devotions by the Anglo-Saxon people. When he raised his voice in witness of such an usage throughout this his fatherland before and during his own days, our Beda while thus following the example of the great St. Austin, made his words too his own, as he cried out with that glory of the African Church:—"What is the sign which every one knows, but Christ's cross? Now unless this sign be employed—unless it be made upon the forehead of him who believes, and traced over the water through which

³⁴ *Laws of K. Æthelstan*, in Thorpe, i. 227.

³⁵ *Egbert Pontifical*, 34, 35.

³⁶ p. 120.

he is reborn, or over the oil with which he is anointed in confirmation, or over the sacrifice by which he is fed, none of these rites are duly performed." This, as well as St. Boniface's anxiety to learn what was the proper number of crosses to be signed over the blessed Eucharist, has been already noticed.³⁷

From Beda we learn that the sign of the cross is one among other weapons to be wielded in the fight against the devil, during the everyday life of this world;³⁸ and that the man who wishes (113) to drive away from himself foul evil thoughts, must begin by tracing upon his breast this token of redemption through Christ.³⁹ In the beautiful letter which he wrote to Egbert of York, at that bishop's own request, Beda calls upon his old friend to be earnest in teaching his flock, among other things, to strengthen themselves, by the frequent sign of the cross, against the wiles of unclean spirits.⁴⁰ And Alcuin tells us that the

³⁷ See vol. i., pp. 66, 67, of this work, where the references to these passages are given.

³⁸ Moxque ubi futuras ejus (antiqui hostis) insidias perspicimus, unicum nobis refugium foramina petræ nostræ, id est, Dominicæ fidei præsidia intremus, ac signo nos passionis illius defensare studeamus.—*Exp. in Cantic. Canticor.*, iv. [*P.L.*, xci. 1164].

³⁹ Sed et noxios sæpe cogitatus, dum incauta mente voluimus, ac subito respecti a Deo signum sanctæ crucis pectori imprimimus, et quod nefarium tractamus, abjicimus, quasi vitta coccinea capillos nobis ligamus, quia fluxa cogitationum trophæo sacri cruoris comprimimus.—*Ibid.* iii. [1132].

⁴⁰ Eorum quoque qui in populari adhuc uita continentur sollicitam te necesse est curam gerere . . . et hoc eos inter alia discere facias . . . quam frequenti diligentia signaculo se Dominicæ crucis

first thing we should do when we awake in the morning is to make upon our lips the sign of the cross.⁴¹ That teaching like this was old among the Anglo-Saxons, and had not been thrown away upon them, we may gather from all (114) their history; and in the picture which Beda draws of Caedmon's holy death, not the least beautiful part is that wherein he shows us how, after the poet had been houseled, he crossed himself, lay back and quietly died.⁴² In a record of one particular event in the life of St. Guthlac, Felix, the saint's contemporary, does not forget that holy man's morning custom of crossing himself.⁴³

But our Anglo-Saxon fathers had another way of making known what were their inward feelings of love towards Christ, through that outward homage for this emblem of the atonement wrought by Him for mankind, and it was

suaque omnia aduersum continuas immundorum spirituum insidias necesse habeant munire.—*Epist. ad Egbertum Episc.*, 15 [Plummer, i. 418, 419].

⁴¹ Ergo cum a somno evigilas, et crucis signum depingis in labiis, tertio repete: *Domine, labia mea aperies, et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam.*—Alcuin, *Lib. de Psalm. Usu*, i. [P.L., ci. 468].

⁴² Signans se signo sanctæ crucis reclinavit caput ad cervical, modicumque obdormiens, ita cum silentio vitam finivit.—*Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 24.

⁴³ Tunc indutos artus agresti de spatulo surgens arrexist, et signato cordis gremio salutari sigillo, &c.—*A.A. SS. Aprilis*, ii. 39.

To stand in the Cross,

as they called it, the while they said their prayers. Such a devotional custom they went through after more forms than one. The first was when, standing upright, they kept their arms and hands spread out full length : thus they stood and prayed whenever they wanted to show much earnestness in their supplications, as we learn from the example of St. Ecgburga, who, to let St. Guthlac understand how strongly she besought him to take her gift of a leaden coffin and a winding-sheet for his burial, having uttered her wish aloud—with outstretched arms in the shape of the cross, like as she were praying—bade her messenger who was by and saw what she had done, to go, and, putting himself into the same attitude, say her errand to that holy ankret at Crowland.⁴⁴ The second way was to kneel down instead of standing, but with the arms still thrown wide open as before. Their third method consisted in casting themselves down upon the ground, and in thus remaining there in prayer, with arms and hands abroad in the form of the cross. Sometimes in one, sometimes in the other

⁴⁴ Ecgburgh . . . adjurans per nomen terribile superni Regis, seque ad patibulum Dominicæ crucis erigens, in indicium supplicis (115) deprecationis extensis palmis, ut in officium prædictum vir Dei illud munus susciperet, per nuntium alterius fidelis fratris præcipiens, ut hoc indicium coram illo faceret supplicis rogatu mittebat. *Ibid.*, 47.

of these last two positions, was it that public but sorrowful sinners put themselves at church, as they underwent their canonical course of penance. In his *Liber Pœnitentialis*, Archbishop Theodore mentions this among penances.⁴⁵ Again, the canons enacted under Edgar, speaking of the sinner who is a man of power and wealthy, say: "By day and by night, the oftenest that he can, let him remain in church, and, with alms-light, earnestly watch there, and cry to God, and implore forgiveness, with groaning spirit, and kneel frequently in the sign of the cross (on rode tacne); sometimes up, sometimes down, extend himself, &c." ⁴⁶

In an age when even some kings could not write, it became necessary to choose an easy common token, the signature of which to instruments and documents should be held as giving them all due legal strength. Among our Anglo-Saxons, such a token was sought for from among the symbols of their Christian belief; and all through (116) their period, from Æthelbert's till the first William's days,

The Mark of the Cross upon a Deed

was meant, by him who put it, to be a sign either that he had tied himself down to the fulfilment of

⁴⁵ Qui psalmos non novit, et jejunare, sive vigilare, vel genucleare, vel in cruce stare, aut sæpe prosternere, seu aliter pœnitere, pro infirmitate non potest, eligat qui pro illo hoc impleat, &c.—Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 62.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 289.

its stipulations, or had agreed to accept its terms, or had been present as a witness when it was drawn up. The solemn making of this mark got, from the first, to be looked upon, if not with all the awe, at least with some of the feelings belonging to an oath: it was thought that he who so set his hand to a written document of any kind, was thereby deemed to say that, as he hoped and trusted for the happiness of heaven through Christ crucified, he pledged himself to carry out, and wished his aftercomers to stand by, his plighted word for ever; or, if only a witness, that what he had so attested he believed to be true. The custom of thus ratifying and witnessing deeds of gifts and every other sort of instrument by drawing the sign of the cross with a pen, or laying the finger on the gold or red cross already made by the scribe upon the parchment, may be seen, and the weight of the act felt, in these following extracts from our Anglo-Saxon charters:—

Hoc, cum consilio Laurencii episcopi et omnium principum meorum, signo sanctæ crucis confirmavi (Æthelbertus rex A.D. 604), eosque iussi ut mecum idem facerent.⁴⁷ Pro confirmatione eius manu propria signum sanctæ crucis expressi (*ibid.*, 21); ut ne aliquis in posterum sit adversitas, propria manu signum sanctæ crucis expressi (*ibid.*, 31); ad cuius confirmationem pro ignorantia litterarum ✝ signum sanctæ crucis expressi (*ibid.*,

⁴⁷ Kemble, *Codex Dipl. Angl.-Sax.*, i. 1.

50); hanc donationem meam confirmando signo sanctæ crucis munivi (*ibid.*, 65); ✚ hoc signum ego Cyniheardus (117) indignus episcopus impressi ad confirmandam roborandamque hanc cartulam, quam huiusmodi conscriptam esse fateor (*ibid.*, 126); in nomine Dei omnipotentis quibusque dignitatis ac conditionis hominibus præcipio, et per crucem Dominicæ passionis adiuro cuius signum ad cumulum firmitatis in hac paginula descripsi (*ibid.*, 133). At vero ut hanc donationem meam quilibet hominum aliquando non possit irritam facere, manu propria signum sanctæ crucis subtus in hac pagina facere curavi (Egbertus rex), testesque religiosos ut idipsum facerent adhibeo (*ibid.*, 194). Obsecro per omnes virtutes cælorum, ut nullus homo hanc positionem crucis Christi, quæ tantorum virorum testimonio confirmata est, non præsumat minuere (*ibid.*, 228). ✚ Ego Coenwulf rex Merciorum, cum virtute sanctæ crucis scribendo conroboravi (*ibid.*, 256). To bestow her formal sanction upon such a pious usage, the Anglo-Saxon Church, in the third council of Chalk-hythe (A.D. 816), sent forth a decree that all documents bearing an authentic sign of the cross were binding and ought to be obeyed and fulfilled:—De omni re, quæcunque cum vexillo sanctæ crucis Christi roborata est, sic stare servareque præcipimus, nisi forsitan rex vel princeps antecessorum suorum manuum impositiones pro nihilo ducant: et illud

non emendare neque cassare pertinescant, idipsum in se suisque hæredibus sustineant, sicut scriptum est: In quocunque judicio judicaveritis, judicabimini.⁴⁸

Before, however, setting their mark to a deed, especially of high importance and amid circumstances of more than ordinary ceremonial, they took the hand of that personage to whom they were about pledging their word for the fulfilment of each condition in the document—or if he were away, his representative's hand—and upon its open palm (118) they drew a sign of the cross, with the thumb of their own right hand. Thus did Offa and Archbishop Lambert with his brother bishops, as they all promised the holy see, through Pope Adrian's messenger, to observe those decrees and canons which had been passed, under the presidency of that same pontifical legate, in the first council held at Chalk-hythe (A.D. 785), as we noticed in another part of this work.⁴⁹

But new men brought in new customs, and under the first Norman king, the old Anglo-Saxon attestation—the sign of the cross—was laid aside, and waxen seals were strung to all instruments in its stead.⁵⁰ Some there were of the Church-

⁴⁸ Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 170.

⁴⁹ Vol. iii. 400.

⁵⁰ Alias etiam consuetudines immutabant. Nam chirographorum confectionem Anglicanam quæ antea usque ad Edwardi regis tempora fidelium subscriptionibus cum crucibus aureis aliisque sacris signaculis firma fuerunt, Normanni condemnantes, chirographa chartas vocabant; et chartarum firmitatem cum cerea impressione per uniuscujusque speciale sigillum . . . conficere

men in this country who strove to keep up such a seemly usage, and among them was Gundulf bishop of Rochester, who ratified a deed in these words : Et ut inperpetuum integra et inviolata permaneat, signo crucis Christi vice piissimi sanctorum Andree apostoli eam consigno et corroboro.⁶¹ Strangely enough, however, the old Anglo-Saxon custom which grew out of their warm Catholic belief, still lives among Englishmen, and the person who cannot write—the marksman as he is called—even now is allowed to authenticate any deed or statement by making a cross before his name that another hand has traced.

constituebant. Ingulph, in Gale, *Rer. Anglic. Script.*, i. 70 [ed. Birch, p. 122].

⁶¹ *Registrum Roffense*, 33.

SUCH then are the doctrinal, such the liturgical observances, which were every day set so strongly before the Anglo-Saxons by their Church in her religious services. However feebly this outline of them may have been drawn, it will be strong enough to show that there is no one article of belief, no one single element of ritual practice embodied in the treatise of the Norman Saint Osmund, or

THE USE OF SARUM,

which will not be found to have been, all along, in being among the Anglo-Saxons. How indeed could it be otherwise, when both people drank in their Christianity from streams which, though running through two different countries, took their rise from the same well-spring of truth—from Rome?

Not quite three centuries after the happy conversion of this island, when another horde of pagan Northmen, under Rollo, landed upon the opposite coast of France, and made themselves masters of a portion of that country, now known as Normandy; they, in their turn, soon stooped

their necks to the sweet yoke of the gospel, and became Christians. Some time before, the whole of France, at the prayer of Charlemagne, had exchanged her national liturgy for that of the apostolic see. Thus it happened that the Northmen, on becoming Christians in Gaul, adopted the Roman ritual; so that when the descendants of these conquerors of the Franks came over to England with William, (120) they found among the Anglo-Saxons the very same liturgy to which they had always been accustomed in France; and whatever difference was perceptible between the ecclesiastical practices of either people, they saw consisted not in anything material, but in a slight disparity in some rubrics or ceremonies with which the mass was offered up, and the sacraments and other rites of the Church were administered.

The labours of St. Osmund afford another of the many examples which show how that beautiful saying of the royal prophet has always been fulfilled, who, as he foretold the unity of doctrine which was ever to mark Christ's Catholic Church, sang thus of her: "*Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate*"—the queen stood on thy right hand in golden clothing, surrounded with variety (Ps. xlv. [xlv.] 9). Notwithstanding the overthrow of kings, the changes wrought in the laws and the language of the country, the thralldom of the people under new lords; notwithstanding the appointment to all

places of trust and of authority, of new men with strangers' feelings and strangers' likings and dislikes,—still the same strong family resemblance is ever to be witnessed between our old national religious rites and those of Rome ; and with becoming thankfulness do we behold that the few peculiarities of our old English service-books only express in another—nay, at times, a stronger—set of words those self-same doctrines taught, not merely in the Roman, but in every other liturgy used at any period, or in any place within the Catholic Church. Now should it be asked

In what did the Sarum ritual vary from that of Rome, and of the Anglo-Saxons ?

the question is readily answered by replying, that the (121) difference was neither much nor important. On comparing the Breviary, the Missal, and the Manual of Salisbury, with such of the service-books as have come down to us from Anglo-Saxon times, and those books now in use at Rome, we shall find that they agree with one another almost word for word ; so much so, indeed, as to show that St. Osmund did nothing more than take the Roman liturgy as he found it at the time, ingraft upon it some slight unimportant insertions, and draw out its rubrics in such a way as to hinder the ordinary chances of falling into any mistakes about them from happening. He seems to have invented nothing of himself in these matters, but to have

chosen out of the practices he saw in use around him, among the Anglo-Saxons here, and more especially among his own countrymen in Normandy ; and it would appear he undertook nothing more than to arrange the church-offices in such sort that his clergy—composed as they must have been of Normans and Anglo-Saxons—might have one known uniform rule to lead them while going through their respective functions within the sanctuary, and their several duties amid their flocks. Our first notice shall be given to the codices for the

Choir Service.

Like as in the Anglo-Saxon, so in the Sarum rite, all the hours of the office had the same component parts as are still to be found in the Roman and other breviaries. Matins consisted of an invitatory joined to Psalm xciv. [xcv.], *Venite* ; a hymn ; a certain number of psalms, with anthems ; lessons, with responses and versicles ; and the hymn, *Te Deum*. The invitatory, according to a venerable old English catholic writer, “ys as moche to saye, as a callynge, or a sturrynge. Wherby eche of you sturreth, and exhorteth other to the praysyng of God. . . . And therby also, (122) ye calle them that here you : and desyre other that ar absente to come to prayse with you. And therto accordeth the psalme, *Venite*, that foloweth, and ys songe wyth the Inuitatory. But the

Inuitatory ys som tyme songe hole, and somtyme halfe." [*Myroure of Oure Ladye*, ed. J. H. Blunt (E. E. T. S.), p. 83.] These invitatories varied with the time of the year and the occurring festival; and many of them were the same as those still found in the Roman breviary. One was always said along with Psalm xciv., *Venite*, at the beginning of matins, except upon Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, and at a dirge, and on All Souls' day; thus agreeing, with the exception of the service for the dead, with the Roman usage, according to which however an invitatory is always recited on All Souls' day, and at the dirge which is chaunted at a burial.

Of these Sarum matin hymns, the larger portion are the same as those now sung in the Roman breviary; while of the remainder, but a few are quite different, and the rest exhibit mere verbal variations.

For the great feasts, for the saints' days, for the Sundays, and for the week-days throughout the year, precisely the same arrangement in numbers, and the allotment, with a few exceptions, of the very same psalms for matins, as in the Roman, may be seen in the Sarum portous. In both, the Sunday's office, simply as such, consists of three divisions of psalms, called "Nocturns," the first of which contains twelve, the other two six psalms each. High feasts and the greater number of

saints' days have three nocturns of three psalms in each of them; but of these festivals must be excepted Easter and Whit Sunday, and their respective octaves, when there is but one nocturn of three psalms each day at matins.

On those saints' days whose festivals were kept with only three lessons at matins, a difference existed between Sarum (123) and Rome. By the rubrics of the latter, a saint's feast, with three lessons only, has the twelve psalms at matins, in the psalter, on that day of the week it may chance to fall. Such however was not the Salisbury rule, except for a short period of the year; and at other times there were said with the three lessons those nine psalms which formed the three nocturns in the office of similar saints whose feasts were kept with nine lessons. This explains St. Osmund's mention of a saint's office with three lessons and nine psalms.

In like manner the *Dirige*, or matin office for the dead, was said when the corpse was not present, with three lessons, and nine, not three psalms, as in the Roman breviary, which directs but one nocturn to be sung on such occasions. After the closing, sometimes of one, sometimes of several psalms, comes an anthem; and at the end of the last of such anthems, follows a verse with its response; and of these the same may be said on the resemblance which they bear to the corresponding parts of the Roman breviary.

The same wish to follow ecclesiastical usage which was shown by St. Osmund in ordaining the weekly repetition, among his clergy, of the psalter, was exhibited by his arrangement of the lessons at matins, in such a way that within the year some portion out of almost every book in the old and new Testament should be read in the divine office.

Though chosen from the same books of Holy Writ, according to the season or the festival, the lessons in the Sarum matins were much shorter than those now read in the Roman breviary; often, too, the commentaries accompanying them were extracted out of other writings and homilies of the holy fathers. An additional lesson, called "the genealogy," was sung at the end of matins on Christmas morning and the Epiphany, from the rood-loft, with (124) much solemnity, by the deacon, robed in his dalmatic, and attended by incense, lights, a cross, and a subdeacon. There were several festivals during the year, on which the lessons of the third nocturn were from the saint's legend, and not an exposition of some part of the gospel with a verse or two of it at the beginning of the seventh lesson, as is the custom in the Roman breviary.

Before the lessons at the first nocturn, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed were said in silence, at the end of which were repeated aloud these last two petitions from the Lord's

prayer, *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem; sed libera nos a malo*. No absolution was pronounced at any of the nocturns: the same blessings however as those in the Roman breviary, along with a variety of others, were asked and given. When any part of the prophecies was read, the lesson always finished with—*Hæc dicit Dominus: convertimini ad me, et salvi eritis*; but at all other times it closed with the common ending—*Tu, autem, Domine, miserere nostri*. These lessons were parted one from the other by responses and versicles, varying with the time or with the festival. Some of these responses were, in the Sarum rite, denominated “histories,” because they echoed, as it were, the feelings, and spoke the meaning, of those passages from Holy Writ, chanted during that especial season, or at that particular feast.

With the exception of Advent time, and of the interval between Septuagesima and Easter Sundays, and of a few especial feasts of the year, the hymn *Te Deum* was sung, not in place of, but immediately after, the response to the last lesson of matins.

On St. Nicholas’ day, that of St. Stephen, of St. John the Evangelist, and of Holy Innocents’, immediately after the ninth lesson and its response, and—as it would seem, instead of the *Te Deum*—was solemnly chanted, and with

(125) a peculiar ceremony, what was called a "prose," in honour of the occurring feast.

Just before lauds came a short versicle, with its response; and this particular versicle was known under the name of the "priest's versicle," from being chanted by the celebrant, and not by one of the singing-boys, like all the other versicles.

At lauds themselves we find two distinctions, which, though small, are nevertheless characteristic. Immediately after the canticle, *Benedictus*, there was sung, in the Sunday's office, Ps. cxxii. [cxxiii.], *Ad Te levavi*. The recital of this was, however, looked upon by many as a thing binding only upon the clergy of Salisbury choir itself, and hence it was not done in some other cathedrals. Immediately after the collect for the day, the first *Benedicamus Domino* was said. Then came the "memories," if any, or, as we now call them, "commemorations," and the suffrages. At the close of these was intoned a second *Benedicamus Domino*, a ritual practice unknown to the Roman breviary.

Upon Christmas morning, along with the first *Benedicamus*, there were chanted, by four clergy chosen from among the upper row of canons, two anthems, with a response and versicle, in honour of the mystery of the Incarnation.

Another peculiarity of the Sarum rite is to be found in the way in which the service at lauds

finishes on each of the three nights before Easter, in what we now call "Tenebræ."

On all the higher holy days throughout the year, the altar was incensed by a canon vested in a silk cope, at the second lesson of each nocturn, and afterwards the thurifier incensed the choir.⁵² Those who read the lessons of the (126) third nocturn wore silk copes.⁵³ At lauds the altar was incensed by the officiating priest on all days that were not ferial.⁵⁴

At the hour of prime there occurred but few, and those unimportant, variations between the Sarum form and that of Rome. Of these, we ought, perhaps, to point out the following two. Before and after the creed attributed to St. Athanasius, there was an anthem; and whenever the cxxii. [cxxiii.] Psalm, *Ad Te levavi*, was said at lauds, then at prime was recited Ps. cxx. [cxxi.], *Ad te levavi oculos meos*,—the saying of which, strictly speaking, was confined, like the other psalm, to Salisbury choir itself.

In every cathedral and collegiate church, at the end of prime-song, all the clergy went in procession from the choir to the chapter-house, where each one took that seat which by right belonged to him. The bishop, if there, sat in the first place; in his absence, the dean: on either hand came, in due order, the dignitaries;

⁵² *Use of Sarum*, lii. (54), vol. i. pp. 114, 121, and liv. (56), p. 126.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, lii. (54), p. 118.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, xliii. (51), p. 97.

then the canons ; in a lower row, the minor canons. The boys stood on the floor, ranged at each side of the pulpit. One of these youths, whose week for such a duty it chanced to be, got up in this pulpit, and read the martyrology, and afterwards gave out the "obits," or remembrance to pray for the souls of those who had once been members of, or benefactors to, that church, and whose deaths had happened that day of the year ; and the officiating priest, when the boy had gone through these names, said : "May their souls and the souls of all the faithful departed through the mercy of God rest in peace."⁵⁶ Then came a lection out of some pious writer ; for which purpose clergymen sometimes bequeathed books to a church.⁵⁶ According to Clement Maydeston, the writings of Haymo, or Aimo, one of our Alcuin's scholars, used to be, where the Sarum ritual prevailed, always read the year through, with the exception of a very few days.⁵⁷

If any one had been slothful in coming to

⁵⁶ Animæ eorum et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum per Dei misericordiam requiescant in pace. See *Use of Sarum*. xxxii. (30) p. 51.

⁵⁶ Thus John Newton did. Do et lego capitulo ecclesiæ metropolitice Ebor. . . . (127) librum vocatum Speculum Moraliū, cum aliis tractatibus Alcuini, quondam canonici Ebor. ecclesiæ, et Hugonis de Claustro Animæ, atque Mauricii de Sancta Salome, in uno volumine, pro lectura in capitulo.—*Testamentum Ebor.*, 365, ed. Surtees Society.

⁵⁷ De lectione in capitulo.

Quotidie per totum annum, nisi duobus diebus ante Pascha, post
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church for his duties, he had here to ask the forgiveness of his brethren and the dean. After this, if it were Sunday, or a holyday, the same youth read the "board"; that is, he told the names of those among the canons who had to rule the choir, to read the lessons, and chant the responses at matins, to sing the high mass, or minister as deacon and subdeacon;—among the smaller boys, who was to read at chapter, who had to carry the candles, or the holy water, or the book;—and among the elder ones, who was to read the long lessons in the chapter-house, who to bear the thurible, or be acolyte,—that is, bring in, at high mass, the chalice with the corporal cloths,⁵⁸ during all the week, or while the octave of the occurring festival lasted.⁵⁹ To choose out and set down the names of these several officials, was the work of the precentor; and the list itself got called the "table," or (128) "board," because written upon wax spread over a thin piece of wood, which was afterwards left hanging up in the chapter-house, within easy sight of all.

Preciosa est legatur in capitulo vna lectio de Sancto Haymone et semper cum ista benedictione tam duplicibus quam pro festis diebus. . . . Nunquam legatur lectio alia in capitulo nisi de Sancto Haymone preter quam per octavas Assumptionis et Natiuitatis beate Marie.—Credo Michi [Wordsworth, *Tracts of C. Maydeston* (H. B. S.), p. 41].

⁵⁸ *Use of Sarum*, xxxix. (92) vol. i. p. 69.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, xxv. (31) p. 41.

Not only before, but very long after, paper became known, the use of such tablets, which we may call

The Wax-brede,

was kept on here, as well as abroad, for things of small note, or but a temporary service, and, in particular, for ritual purposes. In early days, St. Aldhelm spoke of it thus:

DE PUGILLARIBUS.

Melligeris apibus mea prima processit origo,
Sed pars exterior crescebat cætera silvis :
Calceamenta mihi tradebant tergora dura.
Nunc ferri stimulus faciem proscindit amœnam,
Flexibus et sulcos obliquat ad instar aratri :
Sed semen segeti de cœlo ducitur alium,
Quod largos generat millena fruge maniplos :
Heu tam sancta seges diris extinguitur armis.⁶⁰

In the Anglo-Saxon translation of St. Benet's "Rule,"⁶¹ it is called by the name we have given it, "wax-brede"; and the rich library of the ancient and venerable St. Gall's, Switzerland, still has—*Sex ligneæ tabulæ cera obductæ (olim pugillares Scotticæ dictæ) quæ ratiocinia œconomica referunt.*⁶² The shape of these tablets, and the way used by the Anglo-Saxons of writing on them, can be seen in one of the illuminations in Æthelwold's Benedictional.⁶³

That the wax-brede continued to be employed

⁶⁰ S. Aldhelm, *Epist. ad Acircium*, v. [*P.L.*, lxxxix. 193].

⁶¹ Wanley, *Catal.*, p. 122; Nasmith, *Catal. c.c.*, Cantab. [See Logeman's Edition for E.E.T.S., p. 93.]

⁶² Appendix, A to P, Cooper's *Report*, 84.

⁶³ p. 103.

for (129) church purposes after the coming hither of the Normans, we gather from several quarters.⁶⁴ How St. Anselm used to make a rough draft of his literary works, first upon these wax tables, and write them out afterwards upon vellum, we read in Eadmer's life of that holy archbishop.⁶⁵

The account rolls of Winchester college, during a portion of Richard II.'s reign, not only furnish a proof that the wax-brede still continued in ritual use for the chapel there, but tell us that the wax employed for the purpose was coloured green: *Custos capelle*. In j tabula ceranda cum viridi cera pro intitulatione capellanorum et clericorum capelle ad missas et alia psallenda, viiid.

Horman informs us that "tables be made of leves of yvory, boxe, cyprus, and other stouffe, daubed with waxe, to wrytte on";⁶⁶ and that the stilus, or graphium, was called a pointel: "poyntyllis of yron, and poyntyllis of sylver, brass, boone, or stoone, havynge a pynne at the ende."⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Joceline, the monk of Furness (in his life of St. Waltheof, who died, A.D. 1160, abbot of Melrose), tells us: *Hæc autem hujus scripta verba fuerunt, quæ ex seniorum industria sacra pluribus diebus in cera tabulæ capitularis exarata legere gliscentibus patuerunt.*—*AA. SS. Augusti*, i. 267.

⁶⁵ *Reparat Anselmus aliud de eadem materia dictamen in aliis tabulis. . . . Ille in secretiore parte lectuli sui tabulas reponit, et sequenti die nil sinistri suspicatus easdem in pavimento sparsas ante lectum reperit, cera, quæ in ipsis erat hac illac frustratim dispersa. Levantur tabulæ, cera colligitur, et pariter Anselmo reportantur: adunat ipse ceram, et licet vix scripturam recuperat. Veritus autem, ne qua incuria penitus perditum eat, eam in nomine Domini pergamenò jubet tradi.*—*AA. SS. Aprilis*, ii. 872.

⁶⁶ *Vulgaria*, fo. 81, Pynson, London.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, fo. 81.

From an old manuscript *Ordinarium*, drawn up for St. (130) Lo's collegiate church at Rouen,⁶⁸ we find that this wax-brede was used also there.⁶⁹ From what De Moleon says, while speaking of this custom at this church, we learn that the same usage was once followed by other churches in France : Ils avoient, comme à l'église cathédrale, une table enduite de cire, sur laquelle ils écrivoient avec un poinçon les noms de ceux qui devoient faire quelque office ou fonction. Quoiqu'ils y fussent écrits, et qu'elle fût exposée en un lieu évident, on ne lassoit pas de la lire à la fin du chapitre après la petite Leçon.⁷⁰ And he remarked the same thing done at the church of St. Martin, at Tours : Les officiers pour l'office divin étoient inscrits dans un tableau enduit de cire, comme à Rouen.⁷¹

The other hours of the day, called Tierce, Sext, and None, show no difference from the Roman model of the Sarum rite.

But even-song exhibits a few trifling variations.

⁶⁸ Qui ad missam lectiones vel tractus dicturi sunt, in tabula cerea scripti primitus recitentur, quæ tabula, ita debet fieri.

Hodie ad missam

Primam lectionem, talis, &c.

—Johannis Abriicensis, *Lib. De Off. Ecc.*, ed. Prevotio, 261 [*P.L.*, cxlvii. 159].

⁶⁹ Feria sexta, hæc tabula in cera in capitulo recitetur :

Hodie i. lectionem frater talis, &c.

—*Ibid.*, 302 [173].

⁷⁰ *Voyages liturgiques de France*, 392.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 122.

Upon all high festivals, and every Sunday of the year, betwixt the little chapter, as it is called, and the hymn, there was inserted a response with its versicle, both of which, at the more solemn feasts, were sung by the precentor of the church himself, attended by two others of the upper canons, all three vested in rich silk copes. Moreover, like (131) lauds, even-song had its second *Benedicamus Domino*. On some festivals, too, a prose, instead of at matins, but with the same ceremonial, was chanted at even-song, either just after the response, between the little chapter and hymn, or while walking in procession from the chancel to the altar of the saint whose "memory," or commemoration, was to be made, which was done by the celebrant on having reached and censed the altar which bore the saint's name.

The ritual for even-song, upon Sundays and the lower holy days, though not so majestic as that for festivals of the highest rank, was not without a certain amount of ceremony. In cathedral and collegiate churches, each canon had on his cassock, surplice, black choir-cope, and furred almuce; the boys, their surplices; the rulers of the choir were the only people who walked from the vestry arrayed in silken, embroidered copes. All, including the officiating priest, sat in the choir. After the third psalm had been chanted, three boys, at the bidding of the first ruler of the choir,

went into the vestry to change their surplices for amices and girdled albs: two of them to serve as acolytes, and bear the candles; the third, the thurible. The officiating priest stopped at his stall, but turned himself, clad merely in his canon's dress, towards the altar, while he read the little chapter. Two canons now put on silken copes, and sang the response at the foot of the steps leading from the choir up to the presbytery. Toward the end of the hymn, the priest came down from his stall, and had put on him a silken cope; and the acolytes with their lighted candles, and the thurifer, came forth to meet him at the foot of the presbytery steps, where he blessed the incense, and, going thence up to the high altar, made his genuflexion. He then incensed the altar, the image of the B. V. Mary, which always stood on the (132) north side, and the shrine; or, where there was none, the relics. Having bowed to the altar, and with the acolytes and their candles going before him, he went to the easternmost of the sedilia, or canopied seats, in the south wall of the presbytery, and was there incensed by the thurifer, who afterwards incensed the rulers of the choir, then the dean and all the higher canons on the same side, then the precentor and all on his side, and afterwards the minor canons on both sides; making, before he did so, a bow to each one. In the meanwhile was sung the *Magnificat*; and, as soon as its antiphon had

also been chanted again at the end, the priest, accompanied by the acolytes, came down to the steps, took his book from the boy who had to carry it, and sang the prayer of the day. After the first *Benedicamus*, a procession of the whole choir went through some part of the church,—at Easter time, to visit the newly-hallowed waters of the baptismal font,—at other seasons, to make the commemoration of the saint whose eve it was, at his altar. Both in going and coming back, they chanted anthems; one, on their return, in honour of the B. V. Mary. On reaching the west door of the choir or chancel, they stopped; that is, held a station there, below the rood, to sing versicle, and antiphon, and collect, in reverence of the cross.⁷²

Upon the higher festivals, the incensing at even-song was much more solemn. As soon as the hymn was begun, there were brought to the celebrant two silken copes, of which he put on one, and sent the second to whomsoever among the priests he liked; and thus arrayed, and followed by two thurifers, both walked up together and incensed the high altar. This done, they separated: one going to incense all the altars at the eastern, the other, those at the (133) western part of the church; and meeting again by the south door of the presbytery, incensed the bishop, and then one another.⁷³

⁷² *Use of Sarum*, lxxvii. (82) p. 157.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, lii. (54) pp. 115, 116.

At St. Paul's, London, this was performed somewhat differently. The two priests went first, and said a prayer before St. Ethelburga's altar, in the vestry, and then incensed and kissed it; afterwards they went, and having knelt and prayed at St. Erconwald's shrine, incensed it all round; next they went to the altar of the B. V. Mary, to the baptistery, and to the other altars, and incensed each in its turn. After the *Magnificat* they went, and kneeling by the tomb of Bishop Roger, said the anthem, *Corpora Sanctorum*, and incensed, having kissed it. Going thence to the lowest step of the high altar, they knelt, and recited the anthem, *Gloriosi Principes*, and arising, incensed it.⁷⁴

Of all the seven canonical hours of prayer, complin is the only one which, in its construction, somewhat differs, in the Salisbury breviary, from the Roman form, with which it has, after all, much in common. In the Roman breviary, complin changes little or nothing during the whole year; not so in that of Salisbury, which shows a variation for all the greater movable festivals.

None of the four anthems in honour of our Blessed Lady are found in the Sarum use, either at the end of complin, or of any other hour; nor was there in it either the prayer, *Aperi, Domine*, before, or that of *Sacrosanctæ et individux Trinitati*, after the recital of the divine office.

⁷⁴ Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum*, 80, 81.

Though their portous did not in its rubrics bid our clergy to say any of those anthems in honour of the B. V. Mary, at the end of the day's service, so warm was this country's love for the mother of Christ, that lay-folks linked themselves together into guilds, and churchmen of (134) their own devotion chose, to go and sing every evening, before the lighted image of our dear Lady, one or other of those anthems in her praise. For this many an endowment was made;⁷⁵ and, by the statutes drawn up for his college at Cambridge, and his school at Eton, Henry VI. gave special orders for devotions of this kind before the image of the Blessed Virgin.⁷⁶

By the usages of Catholic England, not only the clerk who had been admitted into holy orders, but each one who enjoyed a benefice, was bound to say the seven canonical hours of prayer every day; and he was taught to begin that holy work by rehearsing the *Pater noster* and the *Ave Maria*, at the end of which he made upon himself the sign of the cross. The *Pater noster* concluded

⁷⁵ See Vol. iii. pp. 224, 225.

⁷⁶ Statuentes præterea quod omnibus et singulis diebus per annum ad vesperam tempore congruentiori . . . omnes chorustæ nostri regalis collegii præsentés una cum informatore in cantu intrent in ecclesiam, pulsata ad hoc campana, præterquam in Coena Domini et in die Parasceus, in quibus campana pulsari non debet, ibidemque coram imagine Beatæ Virginis, accensis luminaribus, superpelliciis induti decantent solenniter et meliori modo quo sciverint unam antiphonam de Beata Virgine, cum versiculo, *Ave, Maria, &c.*, cum oratione, *Meritis et precibus, &c.*—*King's Coll. and Eton Statutes*, 107, 108.

with these words, *Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.* The latter prayer consisted of nothing more than the words of the archangel Gabriel and of St. Elizabeth, and ran thus: *Ave, Maria, gracia plena, Dominus tecum; benedicta tu in mulieribus; et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus. Amen.* This we have noticed before.⁷⁷

From *The Myrroure of oure Ladye*, we learn how our Catholic forefathers were taught to make (135) the sign of the cross; for it says: "Then after these prayers (sc. *Our Father*, and *Hail Mary*) ye aryse and turne you to the aulter and enclyne, in token that ye entende to say that holy seruyce to the onely worshyp and praysynge of oure Lorde, and of hys glorious mother, oure Lady. ¶ And then ye blysse you wyth the sygne of the holy crosse, to chase a waye the fende with all hys dysceytes. For as Crisostome sayth (*Super Math. Omelia*, iv. [liv. § 4]), where euer the fendes se the sygne of the crosse they flye away dredyng yt as a staffe that they are beten wyth all. And in thys blyssynge ye begynne wyth youre honde at the hedde downewarde, and then to the lyfte syde, and after to the righte syde, in token and byleue that oure lorde Iesu cryste came downe from the hed, that is, from the father in to erthe, by his holy incarnation, and from the erthe in to the lyfte syde that is hel, by hys bytter passyon, and from thense vnto his fathers ryght syde by his glorious

⁷⁷ Vol. iii. pp. 259-261.

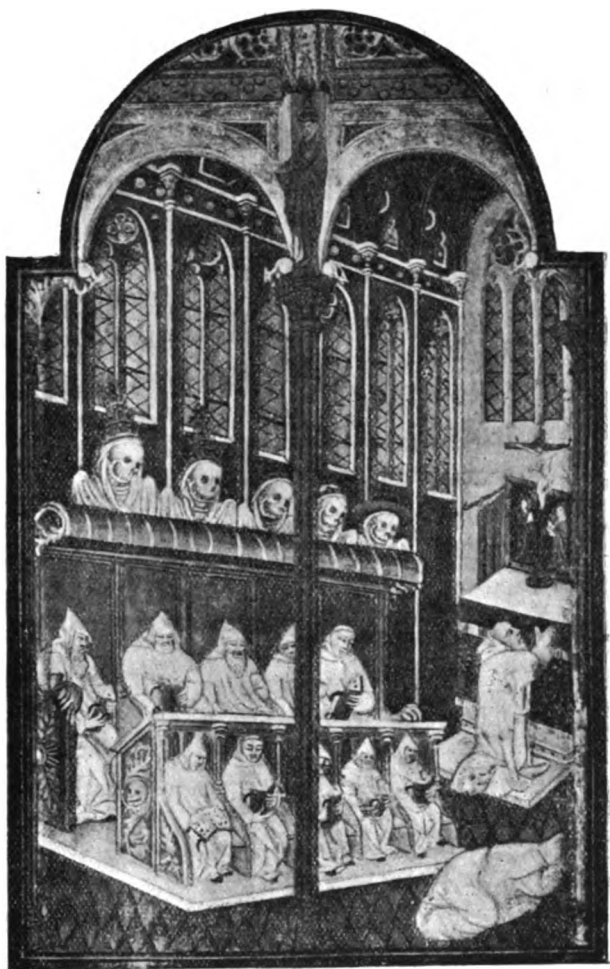
ascencion. And after this, ye bryng your hande to your breste, in token that ye ar come to thanke hym, and prayse hym, in the enderest of youre harte for tho benefytes." ⁷⁸

In part to direct, but more especially to shed brighter splendours around the Church's celebrations, the principal services, on the Sunday and the festival, were led by those who used to be called

The Rulers of the Choir.

To the precentor belonged the duty of regulating all those things which concerned the singing of the Divine service. He it was who wrote down on the board, or wax-brede,—which was read out in the chapter-house, after prime-song on Sunday mornings and on high festivals,—the names of (136) such as should undertake the different choir-offices, or serve at the altar for the next week, or through the octave of the occurring festival. As his deputies for leading the choir-service, the precentor chose, for all Sundays and feast-days of the second class, two canons of the lower form; for high festivals, and those of the first class, four canons,—two from the upper, two from the lower form; and these were called the "rulers of the choir": hence, to say that the choir was "ruled" on any day, meant that it was a feast of one or other

⁷⁸ *The Myroure of oure Ladye*, Pt. ii., ed. J. H. Blunt [E.E.T.S.], p. 80.



MONKS IN CHOIR.

From Brit. Mus., Domit. A. xvii. 121^v.

class; and that there were not three, but nine lessons read at matins.⁷⁹

How the rulers of the choir, or, as they are now called, "chanters," were arrayed in silken copes and furred almuces, and bore each one a staff of beautiful workmanship in his hand, we have already said. It was for the first ruler always to ask, at the beginning of even-song, from the precentor, in what tones the psalms were to be chanted, and by whom, among the upper canons, the antiphons were to be intoned.

On a bench, or else stools, ranged from north to south, and overspread with stuffs of price, sat the four rulers of the choir, so that they could read from the antiphoner on the eagle to the east of them. As each psalm had to be given out, those two on the south end of the seats arose, and, with their staves in their hands, walked together towards that dignitary who had been named for singing the antiphon. Stopping on the spot in front of his stall, they made him a low bow, and intoned the words, which this canon, arising to them, took up and repeated after them in the same notes. Getting again to the lectern, they and their other two companions gave out the psalm. The next antiphon was announced in this same way, by the (137) other two rulers, unto some personage on their north side; and thus did they alternately go, in pairs, to announce the antiphons, before

⁷⁹ *Use of Sarum*, xxi. (21), vol. i. pp. 30 and ff.

the psalms, to their respective sides of the choir at matins, and lauds, and even-song, upon high festivals. When there were but two rulers, as on Sundays and lower saints' days, each took his own side of the choir for the intonement of the antiphons.

The first ruler, it was, who began the hymn, as well as the *Magnificat*, at even-song: all sang the antiphons for the commemorations or memories.

At matins, the rulers led the choir in singing the invitatory and the *Venite*; they intoned the psalms, and signified by whom the lessons were to be read. At lauds they did as they had done at even-song.

At mass, they chanted the introit, or, as the Sarum rite calls it, the "office," the *Kyrie*, the sequence, the *Sanctus*, and the *Agnus Dei*.⁸⁰ Before the celebrant gave out the *Gloria in excelsis*,⁸¹ it was always intoned to him by the first ruler, as among the Anglo-Saxons; and when the bishop pontificated, this was done by the precentor.⁸² Besides controlling the singing, these rulers had to look after and watch over the boys, that they did not misbehave themselves, nor go out of the choir without leave.

Few Englishmen of these our times know that Richard of the lion-heart used, on principal festivals, to take upon himself a part, at least,

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, xxiii. (23) p. 38.

⁸² *Ibid.*, iii. (3) p. 3.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 39.

of the duties belonging to a ruler of the choir. That hand of his which had just before been lightening death-strokes upon its foes,—Richard, the very next holy day uplifted in the choir of his castle, as a sign for his chaplains to sing matins or even-song louder; and the voice which had but lately roared, thunder-like, above the battle-din, now arose, in sweet, peaceful strength, to (138) lead the chanting of hymns, and psalms, and antiphons.⁸³

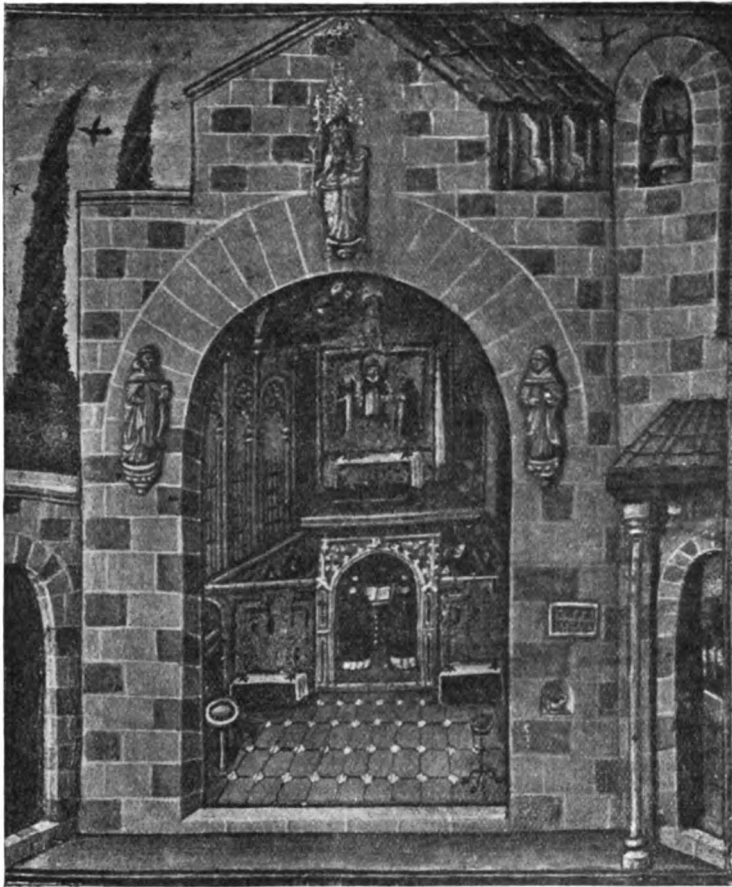
In monasteries, the rule always was to arise at night and sing matins, so that lauds might begin by day-break: in collegiate and cathedral churches, served by the secular clergy, this same practice continued, for many years after St. Osmund's time, to be followed.⁸⁴ The people, too,

⁸³ Circa divinum officium in præcipuis solemnitatibus plurimum delectabatur, vestibisque pretiosis capellam suam sollicitè adornabat, clericosque sonora voce modulantes donis et precibus ad cantandum festivius exstimulabat, atque per chorum huc illucque deambulando voce et manu, ut altius concreperent, excitabat.—Ralph, abbot of Coggeshall, *Chron. Anglicanum*, ed. Martene, *Vet. Scrip. et Mon. Amp. Coll.*, v. 857.

⁸⁴ Et quia canonicæ horæ secundum temporum interstitia, in ecclesiis parochialibus, sicut in cathedralibus et collegiatis nequeunt decantari, præcipimus ut presbyteri parochiales ab ecclesiis suis recedere non præsumant donec festis diebus ante missam vel post, canonicas horas decantaverint, vel saltem legerint absque cantu cum dies fuerit feriendus.—*Synod. Exoniensis*. (A.D. 1287), in Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii. 144.

Hoc in collegio (de Tonge) volumus et præcipimus temporibus perpetuis observari, quod singulis diebus, exceptis tribus diebus proximis ante Pascha, et quando matutinæ præmissariæ ibidem dicuntur, tempestive saltem ad tardius in aurora diei, vel statim post solis ortum prout temporì convenit . . . pulsatur ad matutinas . . . et extunc pulsationibus more loci, prout solempnitati diei convenit debite factis, convenient omnes presbyteri dicti

(139) loved to go and hear the canonical hours;
and thus, in all our parish churches, matins and



INTERIOR OF FRIARS' CHURCH

From Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 28962, f. 263.

collegii ad matutinas et ad alias horas diei secundum usum Sarum,
&c.—Dugdale, *Mon. Anglic.*, viii. 1407.

In telling us of a miracle that happened in London, to one
Bricstam, who had been thrown into prison during the reign of
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lauds were sung every day at early morn.⁸⁵ What our English fathers thought but an act of voluntary devotion upon week-days, they deemed more or less binding upon them for the hallowing of the Lord's day and His saints' festivals; and, as the Sunday's observances began on Saturday afternoon,⁸⁶ (140) even-song that day, as well as

William Rufus, the English monk Ordericus Vitalis says:—*Nocte quadam cum signa per urbem (Lundoniam) ad nocturnas laudes pulsarentur, &c.—Hist. Eccl., 630.*

Of an old pious woman, who had given her the duty of ringing the bells for day and night service, in a church at Mechlin, in Flanders, we are told that she kept a cock to awaken her at night:—*Mulier matricularia eadem et nonna Gerlindis nomine, pia devotione ecclesiæ ejus (S. Rumoldi) adhæserat: sonandarum campanarum officium habebat. Hæc prosequendarum horarum, die solem; noctu gallum sibi nutrierat monitorem.—A.A. SS. Julii, i. 245.*

⁸⁵ During the times of Advent and Lent, Margaret, queen of Scotland (c. A.D. 1093), used to get out of bed and go to church at night for matins and lauds:—*Qualiter ante Dominicum Natale quadraginta dies, et totum Quadragesimæ tempus, solita fuerit ducere breviter tentabo dicere. Cum principio noctis paululum requievisset, ecclesiam ingressa primum matutinas de Sancta Trinitate, deinde de Sancta Cruce, postmodum de Sancta Maria ipsa sola complevit. . . . Celebrantibus hora congrua presbyteris laudes matutinas, interim ipsa psalterium finivit. . . . His peractis quieti se ac sopori contulit. Cum vero mane facto lecto surrexisset precibus et psalmis diu insistebat, &c.—A.A. SS. Junii, ii. 333.*

In the statutes for Whittington College and Hospital, London (A.D. 1424), it is ordained:—*quod iidem magister et capellani, devote, distincte et aperte ad audientiam parochianorum, et aliorum illuc confluentium dicant adinvicem matutinas, vespervas, et alias horas suas canonicas de die, &c.—Dugdale, Mon. Angl., vii. 740.*

⁸⁶ In primis sacrum diem Dominicum ab hora diei sabbati vespertina inchoandum non ante horam ipsam præveniendum, ne Judaicæ professionis participes videamur. Quod etiam in festis quæ suas habent vigilias, observetur. *Constitutio Simonis Islepe Archiep. Cantuar. De Festis Sanct. Obser.*, ed. Lyndwood, 57, ad finem tomi. Our old writers of the saints' lives afford us more

matins before mass on the (141) Sunday, were looked upon as part of the Christian's duty,⁸⁷

than one example to show how a saint's festival, like the Sunday, began to be kept just after nonetide, on its eve. Reginald, the Durham monk, for instance, tells us:—*Instante igitur Beati Laurentii martyris Deo preciosi vigilia sollempni, puella quoddam de fusticotincto indumentum studio sibi sagaci consuit; jamque hora diei prima præteriiit. Ad quam mater, filiam instruens, ait, Filia mea, opus quod præ manibus citius accelera, ut omnino consummatum sit opus quod agressa es, antequam nos præveniat hujus diei hora nona. Exstat quidem hodie Sancti Laurentii . . . veneranda vigilia . . . nam feriantes citra horæ nonæ terminum jam propiantem sæpius gravi ultione perplectere consuevit, &c.—**Lib. de B. Cuthberti Virtut.*, 243.

Dives asks *Pauper*: "How longe ought the holy day to be kept and halowed?" *Pauper* answers, "From even to even: never the lesse some begynne sooner to halowe after that the feaste is, and after use of the countreie. But that men use in the Satyrdayes and vygylles to ryng holy even at mydday compelleth not men anone to halowe, but warneth them of the holy dayes folowyng, that they shuld thynke theron and spede them, and so dyspose them and theyr occupacions, that they myght halowe in dewe tyme." (*Dives and Pauper*, xiii., ed. Berthelet, A.D. 1536, fol. 122, b.) Again *Pauper* says:—"whan evensonge is done at after none in the Soneday, yet is it not leful for to werke then. And also whan that evensonge is sayde in the Satyrdaye at after none, yet is it leful for to werke tyll the sonne go down."—*Ibid.*, xvi.

Mulier apud Kilinge ham nata nebat die Sabbati, vespere jam in occiduum declivi. Ammonita a considentibus ut, reverentiam Dominicæ diei habens, ferias faceret, non solum non paruit, sed etiam illas arrogantis notavit quod se necessariis inservientem arguerent, &c.—Wil. Malmes., *Gesta Pontif.*, v. 276 [*R.S.*, lii. 439].

⁸⁷ Not only the hearing of mass, but also of matins, was taught as needful for hallowing the Sunday; thus *Pauper*, speaking of such as may follow their calling or trade upon the Lord's day, says:—"also messangers, pylgrymes, and wayfarynge men, that may not well reste withoute greatte harme, ben excused, so that they doo their dilygence to here masse and matyns, if they canne."—*Dives and Pauper*, cap. xv., fol. 124. In another place, talking of the ungodly, he says:—"they have leaver to go to the taverne than to holye church. Lever to here a songe of Robynhode, of some ribaudry, than for to here masse or matynes," &c.—*Ibid.*, cap. li., fol. 69, b.

which nothing but sickness should hinder.
Speaking, under these feelings, of his own times,
Langland says :

" For holy churche hoteþ · alle manere puple
Vnder obedience to bee · and buxum to þe lawe . . .
Lewede men to laborie ; · [and] lordes to honte . . .
And vp-on sonedays to cesse · godes seruyce to huyre,
Boþe matyns and messe · and, after mete, in churches
To huyre here euesong, euery man ouhte ·
Thus it by-longeþ for lorde · for lered, and lewede,
Eche halyday to huyre · hollyche þe seruice." ⁸⁸

While blaming the idleness of some, the same poet
asks :

" Wher see we hem on sonedays · þe seruyse to huyre,
As matyns by þe morwe ? · tyl masse by-gynne,
Oper sonedays at euesonge . " ⁸⁹

And, in another place, he makes the sorrowing
sinner plight a promise for the better keeping of
the Lord's day, thus : (142)

" þanne sat sleuthe vp · and seynede hym ofte,
And made a-vowe by-for god · for hus foule sleuthe,
'Shal no soneday þis seuene ȝer be · bote sycknesse hit make,
þat ich ne shal do me or daye · to þe dere churche,
And huyre matyns and masse · as ich a monke were ·
Shal no Ale after mete · holde me þennes,
Til ich haue hurd euesong ich by-hote to þe rode ! ' " &c. ⁹⁰

This old English custom of every one's going to
the parish church and hearing matins there

⁸⁸ *Piers Ploughman*, Passus x. 219-231 [ed. Skeat, 170].

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 242-244 [171].

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Passus viii. 63-69 [ed. Skeat, 124].

before eating breakfast, is furthermore noticed thus by Sir Thomas More: "Some of us lay men thinke it a payne ones in a weeke to ryse so soone fro sleepe, and some to tarye so longe fasting, as on the Sondag to com and heare out theyr matins. And yet is not the matins in every parishe, neyther, all thyng so early begonne, nor fullye so longe in doying, as it is in the Charterhouse, ye wot wel." That this part of the divine service might be well performed, it was more than once enacted in our national synods, that all such priests as held the benefice of a chantry shoul'd not merely say their mass in their respective chapels, but be present in the chancel of the church, and help in singing there all the canonical hours.⁹¹

(143) Not only clerks, but some lay folks, and those of high degree, used to carry about with them a portous, out of which their daily wont was to read matins and even-song. While saying his matins on horseback, as he rode all alone, and half-a-mile ahead of his retainers, was

⁹¹ *Præcipimus ut omnes capellani qui in una parochia comorantur, simul intersint et convenient matutinis et vespers, et aliis horis canonicis, in ecclesiis celebrandis, &c. Constit. W. de Cantilupo Wigorn. epis. (A.D. 1240), ed. Wilkins, Concil., i. 668. In a constitution sent forth by Archbishop Robert Winchelsey (A.D. 1305), in the synod of Merton, to regulate the services of stipendiary priests in parish churches, it is ruled thus:—jurent prædicti presbyteri, quod debeant interesse cancello matutinis, vespers et aliis divinis officiis, horis debitis, induti superpelliciis . . . canentes, legentes, et psalmodizantes, prout eis Deus scientiam dederit.—Wilkins, Concil., ii. 281. Of this custom we have already spoken, vol. iii. 102.*

it that one of the Treshams fell, run through by the spear of a foeman: "In tymes paste, one William Tresham, owner of these landes, cumming from Northampton to Siwelle, and saying his matens, was cruelly slayne by one Salisbyri and Glin of Wales, with their route, servantes to the Lorde Gray of Ruthyne. This William had a route of servantes, cumming by chaunce half a myle behind him," &c.⁹² Richard, Lord Scrope, one of the leading men of his own times, bequeathed to his son Roger the codex which he himself had often employed for such a purpose.⁹³

The ringing for these canonical hours let the world know the time, by day and by night; and in those large churches, where such a custom was followed, the several bells, as well as the different ways in which they were rung for the purpose, told that precise service which was then about to be chanted.⁹⁴

⁹² Leland, *Itin.*, vi. 33. That many of our old catholic countrymen were in the daily habit of saying, not only matins and even-song, but the other canonical hours also, seems clear from the Life of St. Brandon:—

This fowles song ek her matyns : wel right tho it was time,
And of the sauter sede vers : and seithe also prime,
And undarne seithe, and midday, and afterward seith non,
And ech tyde of the day songe as Cristenemen scholde done.

Quoted by Hearne in his Glossary to Langtoft's *Chronicle*, ii. 670.

⁹³ Item Rogero filio meo predicto melius meum spiceplate, et secundum missale meum, cum porteus meo quo usus fui ad dicendum matutinas meas et vespas.—*Testamenta Eborac.*, 278.

⁹⁴ Of the many writers from (144) whom we might gather this,

If all the while England was Catholic, her children's household words were borrowed from the rites and pious usages set forth by the Church of Christ, in which they so steadfastly believed; this was strongly exemplified by that form of speech in which, throughout those ages, the time of day was spoken of. Prime, undern, none and even-song were the terms in every man's mouth, high or low, to tell how the moments had sped and were speeding, or the period when a thing had happened: "The seventh day of Juny," says Peter Langtoft, "died that lady bituex undron and prime."⁹⁵ In speaking the praises of Christ's beloved mother while yet a girl, the preacher told how "every daye, from morow to underen, she was in her prayer-es; and from underen tyll none, she occupied her craft of weving of clothes in the temple; and at none the methe and the drinke that was broughte to her, she gaaf to poure peple," &c.⁹⁶ Of his Ploughman, William Langland tells, that

"Atte hye pryme peers · let þe plouh stonde,"⁹⁷

Reginald the Durham monk is one, and he says: In ecclesia Beati Cuthberti plura sunt signa ad divini operis ministeria pro officiosa diversitatis immutatione pernecessaria. Nam pro immutatione diversitatum distinguendo discernunt alternantium tempora vicissitudinum. Unde ex signo pulsante dinoscitur cujus horae terminus, tam nocturnis quam diurnis momentis, ex ipsorum variata immutatione celebretur.—*De S. Cuthberti Virtut.*, 189.

⁹⁵ *Chronicle*, ed. Hearne, ii. 243. [Not in *R.S.*, xlvi.]

⁹⁶ *Liber Festivalis*, fol. cxliii. b.

⁹⁷ *Passus ix.* 119 [ed. Skeat, 145].

And Chaucer, too, makes his "Clerke" notice how
(145)

"The tyme of undern of the same day
Approcheth, that this wedding sholde be."⁹⁸

As matins and even-song were held to be a portion at least of the divine service which each one ought to hear for the hallowing of the Lord's day and the festivals, a part of the parishioners' obligations was to find the wax tapers that were kept burning at the high altar of their church during those offices, as well as mass.⁹⁹ That while being thought of, he might be prayed for by those who came to church, the dying man often bequeathed lands and money to find lights to stand over his burial-place in his chantry chapel, all through those public services, every Sunday, during a certain length of time. Thus, Nicholas de Beaupre willed "ii. candlesticks of laton, with ii. wax candles of ii. pound, to be set upon his grave, to burn every Sunday and holy-day, at matins, hey mass, and even-song, for the space of a yere."¹ With a like wish was it, that books which had in them these canonical hours, were sometimes left, by will, to be fastened to a desk or reading-stand nigh some altar, that those who wished might say or sing their matins and even-song out of them: for such an end did

⁹⁸ Student's Chaucer [ed. Skeat, 599].

⁹⁹ Parochiani tenentur invenire cereum paschalem et alios cereos in cancello; et lumen sufficiens per totum annum, tam ad matutinas quam ad vespertinas et ad missam, &c.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 714.

¹ Blomefield, *Norfolk*, vii. 459.

John Norys bequeath "his portous of paper rial to be chayned in the chapel of our lady" in the church of South Lynn, where he had been vicar.²

Besides being, at best, but a shrunken shadow of the old matins, the morning prayer, in the Book of Common Prayer, is said too late in the day by some hours, and (146) made to take up that place in the public offices which was once filled by a higher, because a holier service—the Eucharistic sacrifice. Anciently, matins were said in every church throughout this land, at early morn, and before breakfast, as a preparation for mass; now, the Establishment's Morning Prayer is said after breakfast-time, and instead of mass. Oddly enough, however, in many a country parish, the Establishment keeps up, without meaning it, some faint traces of the olden usage, by tolling a particular bell at eight o'clock on Sunday mornings; this serves no liturgical purpose now, but it used to be, in Catholic times, for matins: another bell, still rung at nine o'clock, was to call the people to undern and mass. But at the present day, though Protestants go on thus ringing, their morning service, for which they toll again, begins at eleven o'clock; and, if asked, they cannot tell why they use the earlier ringing.

The Holy Sacrifice was, however, as it had always been among the Anglo-Saxons, the great object of our Anglo-Norman people. But

² Blomefield, *Norfolk*, viii. 547.

THE MASS, ACCORDING TO THE SARUM RITE, had in it some slight variations by which it differed both from the Anglo-Saxon and our present Roman form.

After having sung or said the matins, prime, and undern or tierce of the day, the parish priest offered up the holy sacrifice.³ While putting on his vestments, he (147) recited the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, besides the collect *Deus cui omne cor*; the psalm *Judica me, Deus*, with the anthem *Introibo ad altare Dei*, before and after; then *Kyrie eleison*, &c., *Pater noster*, and *Ave Maria*. On reaching the foot of the altar from the vestry, the priest began mass by saying up aloud: *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Sed libera nos a malo. Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus. Quoniam in secula misericordia ejus*: and then the *Confiteor Deo, beatæ Mariæ, omnibus sanctis et vobis; quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, et opere, mea culpa: precor sanctam Mariam, omnes sanctos*

³ Nullus sacerdos parochialis præsumat missam celebrare, antequam matutinale persolvat officium, et Primam ac Tertiam de die.—*Constit. editæ in Concil. Oxon. (A.D. 1322), in Wilkins, Concil., ii. 512.*

Whilst the priest was vesting himself, the sacristan gave three strokes to a small bell, got ready the wine and water in the cruets, lighted the candles and strewed the altar cloths smooth upon the altar: Vir Dei exurgens funem corripuit, et sicut mos est missam dicturis, ter signum pulsare cepit, aquam haustam ampulla et urceolo protulit, et lumine accenso quæque linteamina, missarum solemnibus convenientia, circa altare composuit.—Reginald, *Lib. de Vita S. Godrici*, 227 (ed. Stevenson, for the Surtees Society).

Dei et vos orare pro me. Such, and not our present, was the form for the "Confiteor" then in use in this country. Going up the three steps to the altar and kissing it, he made the sign of the cross upon himself as he uttered the words *In nomine Patris*, &c. What we now call the "introit," formerly went under the name of "office"; and, upon high festivals, used to be said or sung by the celebrant and his acolyte, alternately, at every mass. This we learn from a passage in the life of St. Bartholomew, once an ankret on Farne Island.⁴ The holy virgin Wiborada, in the tenth century, once helped the priest to sing the tract in the mass on the first Sunday of Lent, at St. Gall's, in Switzerland.⁵

When the *Gloria in excelsis* had to be said, the priest went and began it at the middle of the altar, but came back to recite the remainder at the south, or epistle end.

⁴ Celebrata namque in salutem fidelium Missa, in nocte solenni, quodam die Nativitatis Dominicæ, laudibusque matutinis in laudem Dei completis; post modicum temporis intervallum egressus est vir Domini Bartholomæus, videre an adhuc dies ille sacer in auroram albesceret, quatenus secunda (148) celebratio fieri potuisset. Et reversus vidit cereos accensos et venerandi vultus sacerdotem coram sancto altari, sacerdotalibus indutum assistere. Cumque nullus ad ministrandum apparuit, ipse accessit; dictaque alterutrum confessione, canebant officium "*Lux fulgebat*" cum ceteris, in voce jubilationis et lætitiæ. . . . Cumque hoc aliquando fratri Willelmo aperuit, inquisitus est ab eo, utrum inter sacræ celebrationis obsequia osculum pacis ei dederit; quod licet confiteri noluerit, dubium non est quin id exhibuerit, qui debitum et devotum in ceteris ministerium impendit.—*Vita S. Bartholomæi eremite Farnensis*, auctore monacho cœvo, A.D. 1182, in *AA. SS. Junii* iv. 840.

⁵ *AA. SS. Maji* i. 285.

As in the Anglo-Saxon, so in the Sarum rite, the custom was to intermix,—both along with the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria in excelsis*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei*,—certain sentences, or, as the rubric calls them, “proses,” adapted to the seasons and higher festivals of the year. In this shape, these parts of the service were described as being “cum farsura.”⁶ Of these “kyries,” one there was, cherished very much, and looked upon as having been bequeathed to this land by St. Dunstan, to whom angels had taught the music and the words, as John of Brompton (149) tells us;⁷ and which had, half a century before his times, been said by William of Malmesbury.⁸ When the youth, or whosoever the person might be, who served at mass, knew Latin well enough, he, instead of the priest, read the epistle.⁹

Immediately after the gradual came the sequence.

⁶ *Directorium Sacerdotum* (H.B.S.), i. 28.

⁷ Beatus eciam Dunstanus semel soporatus audivit spiritus angelicos cum suavi nota, *Kyriel*, *Kyriel*, psallentes; cujus modulos armoniæ adhuc continet tropus ille apud Anglos famosus, *Kirie Rex splendens*, qui in sanctorum cantari majoribus solet festis.—*Chron.*, ed. Twysden, i. 879.

⁸ Et credo equidem, nec vana fides, quod etiam angelorum cantum audierit (Beatus Dunstanus) kirrieleison psallentium, quod nunc libenter ecclesiæ discunt et docent Anglorum.—*Gesta Pontif. Anglor.*, i. 19 [*R.S.*, lii. 31].

⁹ Induto tandem sacerdote, et jam missa circa epistolæ legendæ terminum properante, vir Dei statim accedens ad juvenem innuendo multoties præcepit ut epistolam, arrepto libro, legeret, et opere perficiendo jam non se ulterius laicum sed potius litteratum, cunctis ostenderet . . . timidus tamen accessit (juvenis) et epistolam coram cunctis perlegit.—Reginald of Durham, *Vita S. Godrici heremitæ de Finchale*, 227.

These sequences, or, as St. Osmund calls them, "proses," were sung or said on the Sundays during Advent and Paschal time; on the Sunday within the octave of Christmas; on all the movable feasts, and on all great saints' days, as well as in the masses in honour of the B. V. Mary. Of these sequences we have already spoken at some length just now (pp. 23, 24).

After having said the anthem called the "offertory," and received the gifts of the faithful, if any chose to bring an offering,¹⁰ the priest put the paten, with the host on it, (150) before him, at the middle of the altar; and, uplifting the chalice, into which wine, mingled with a very little water, had been poured (sometimes beforehand in the vestry), he pronounced, with bowed-down head, instead of the *Suscipe, sancte Pater*, of the Roman missal, this one prayer: *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam ego in-*

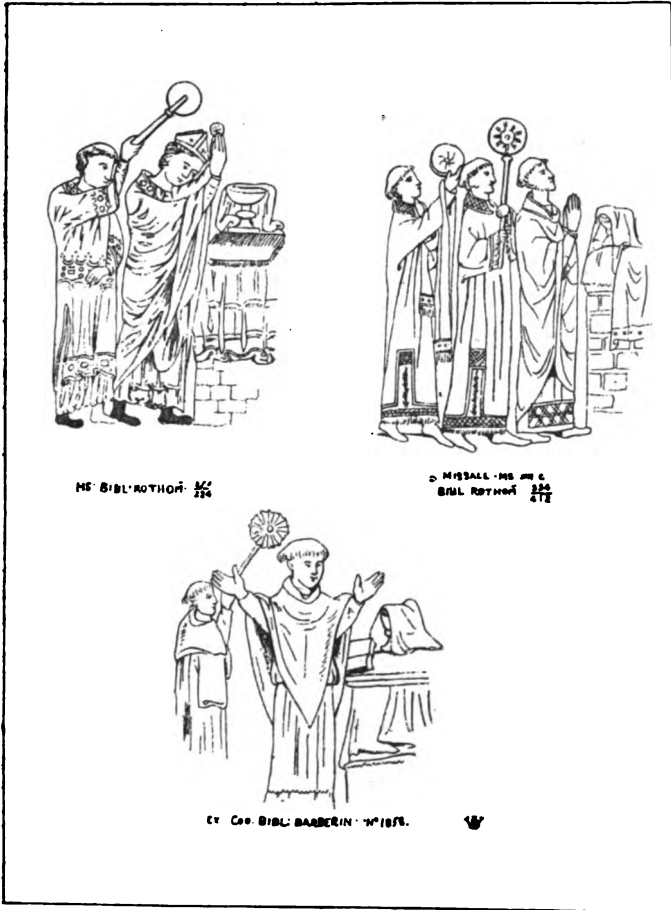
¹⁰ The ritual custom of each one's bringing his gift for the offertory at mass is noticed in many of our old documents thus of Edmund Ironside's granddaughter Margaret, queen of Scotland, her confessor, Theodoric the monk of Durham, tells us:—*Nam quoniam ipse (Malcolmus rex) ad mandatum suum in cœna Domini, et ad missarum solennia nummos aureos offerre consueverat, ex his aliquos ipsa (Margareta) sæpius pie furari et pauperi qui eam inclamaverat solita erat largiri. Et sæpe quidem cum rex ipse sciret, nescire tamen se simulans, hujusmodi furto plurimum delectabatur.*—*AA. SS. Junii* ii. 332. The order, too, in which Margaret made her children go up to the altar with their offering, is also noticed by the same writer of her life:—*Unde et inter missarum solennia, cum post parentes ad offerendum procederent, junior majorem prævenire nullo modo præsumpsit, sed secundum ætatis ordinem major juniorem præcedere consuevit.*—*Ibid.*, 329.

dignus peccator offero in honore tuo et beatæ Mariæ, et omnium sanctorum tuorum, pro peccatis et offensionibus meis, pro salute vivorum et requie omnium fidelium defunctorum. In nomine Patris, &c.¹¹ Setting down the chalice, he covered it over, not with the little square piece of linen we now use, and name the "pall," but with the corporal itself, after the manner which is shown in the pictures on the opposite page. To answer such a purpose, corporals then were made much wider than ours are now. Whilst he washed his hands, the priest did not say that part of the 25th psalm, *Lavabo*, &c., but instead, *Munda me, Domine, ab omni inquinamento mentis et corporis, ut possim mundatus implere opus sanctum Domini*. Often did he here turn about to the people, and beg them to join with him (151) in going through the psalm, *De profundis*, and other prayers, for the good of those souls of the dead whom he had named, as we remarked at another place in this work.¹² Now was it, and not before washing his fingers, that, bending himself lowly down to the altar-stone, he recited the prayer, *In Spiritu humilitatis*, &c.; and then, turning about, uttered

¹¹ Neither the prayer *Deus qui humanæ salutis*, &c., nor that other of the Roman missal *Offerimus tibi, Domine, calicem*, &c., are in the Sarum missal.

¹² Vol. iii. p. 106. John Baret writes, "I wille Seynt Marie preest sey a messe of oure Lady at Seynt Marie auter is ende and rehearse John Baretty's name opynly, saying *De profundis* for me," &c.—*Bury Wills*, 18, 21.

the usual call unto the people, in these words, *Orate, fratres et sorores, &c.* The Preface said, as well as the *Sanctus* after it, and ere beginning



the Canon, many, if not all, our English priests used to kiss the figure of Christ our Lord, in the illumination which is to be found just before

the canon in almost all hand-written, and engraved in every printed, missal. This is ordered in a rubric just before the canon of the mass, in a Sarum manual,—a manuscript of the middle of the fifteenth century, now in my hands.^{12a} That the same use prevailed in France, we learn from Durand, who says that some books had, besides the crucifix, a picture of the Father in majesty: and that some priests were accustomed to kiss the feet of that figure as well as of the crucified Lord.¹³ This “majesty” was the Father Almighty,

^{12a} Immediate ante *Sc's*, elevet manus et paulatim eas dimittendo et iungendo cum dicit *Benedictus*, suam signet faciem. Deinde osculetur pedes crucifixi, vel librum. Deinde inclinet se toto corpore dicens, *Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi quia per crucem tuam redemisti mundum, miserere nostri qui passus es pro nobis.*

¹³ In quibusdam tamen codicibus et majestatis patris, et etiam imago depingitur crucifixi; ut sacerdos quasi præsentem videat quem invocatur, et quem alloquitur, dicens, *Te igitur, &c.*, et passio quæ hic repræsentatur, cordis oculis ingeratur. Sacerdos autem osculatur pedes ipsius majestatis, et se signat in fronte: innuens quod reverenter ad mysterium passionis accedit. Quidam (152) tamen prius osculantur pedes majestatis, et postea pedes crucifixi, secundum seriem canonis. Alii contra quia per filium pervenitur ad patrem.—*Rationale Divin. Offic.*, iv. 35, 153.

On the leaf facing the beginning of the canon of the mass in a Salisbury manual of mine (written circa A.D. 1445), there is an illumination of the crucifixion, the full size of the MS., which is nine inches and a half in height, and six inches and a half in breadth. The face of our Divine Redeemer in this illumination is much smeared, evidently by having been so often kissed. Just such another unmistakable mark is also left, not on the face, but feet of the engraving, upon vellum, and inserted at the same part of the mass, just before another engraving of the “majesty,” in a tall and beautiful copy of the folio Salisbury missal, printed (A.D. 1555) at Paris, by J. Amazeur, for W. Merlin,—I rejoice to say, in my hands. This book is doubly dear to me, as I find it belonged, during catholic times, to the church of Buckland—the

represented, like the prophet Daniel's (153) "Ancient of Days," as an awe-awakening old man, arrayed in alb, stole, and cope, and crowned with the papal tiara. In his left hand he held the mound, or globe of empire; and, with his outstretched right, he bestowed his benediction. Such is the form of the "majesty" in a folio Sarum missal, printed by Amazeur (Paris, 1555), in my possession. Fanaticism seems to have felt much spite against this engraving, as it is to be

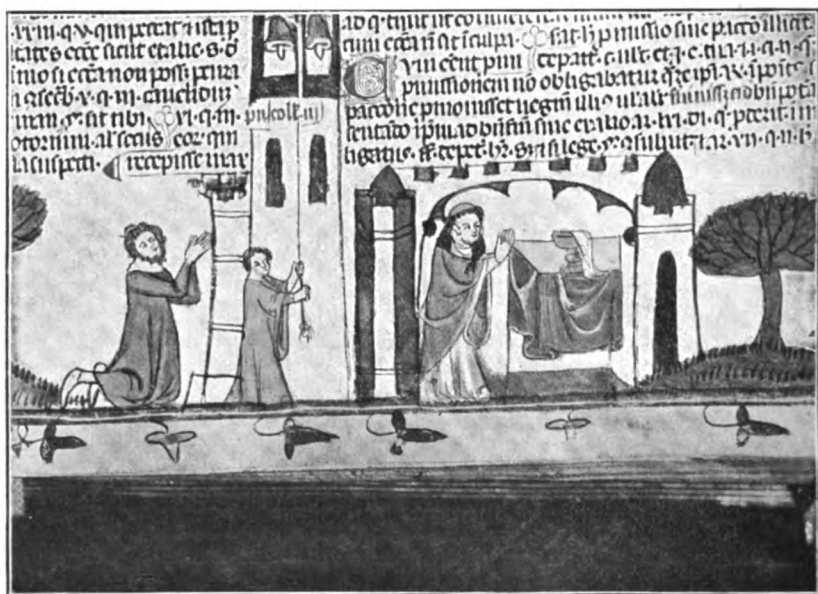
very parish in which I am now living. I learn this fact from an original entry which stands at the beginning of it, and runs thus:—"Of yo^r charyte pray for the sowle of dame Elyzabeth the ffety-place some tyme relygious in Amesburye & also for me Elynor ffety-place her sust^r relygious in Syon, at whose charge thys boke was bought & geven to thys churche of Bockland. Anno dn'i, 1556." These ladies' family lived in the next parish, viz. Pusey.

To kiss the painting of Christ's figure was one of the ways which our forefathers employed for telling their belief in our Lord: thus St. Godrick the ankret drew from his bosom what was very likely a missal, which had the crucifixion limned just before the canon, and kissed the illumination:—*libello de sinu sibi protracto, imaginem Salvatoris cum Beatæ Mariæ imaginis similitudine, et Sancti Johannis pictura honeste in folio depicta, protulit, et cum impetu festinationis ad os ejus apposuit.* "Ecce," inquit, "si in Christo credis, his reverentiam adhibe; et Christum profitens, ista adorando deosculare."—Reginald, *Lib. de Vita S. Godrici*, 109.

Nicholas de Plove lets us know that the same practice obtained in Germany, when he wrote (c. 1490):—*Et fit circa canonem imago crucifixi ut tanto melius imprimatur memoria Christi passionis in cruce ipsi celebranti. Accedens autem sacerdos post ablutionem, primo benedicit se, secundo compositis manibus osculatur imaginem crucifixi, inclinando se humiliter. . . . Alii autem osculantur altare. . . . Deinde incipit dicens Te igitur.*—*Expositio* (quarte partis) *Misse*, sig. K. b. Impres. Argentine, A.D. M.CCCC.XC.

very rarely found now in Salisbury missals, copies of which become more precious from having it.

If not during St. Osmund's days, soon after, at least, the custom was, as the priest said the *Sanctus*, &c., to toll three strokes on a bell. For hanging it so that it might be heard outside,



RINGING THE SACRING BELL BEFORE THE ALTAR

as well as within the church, a little bell-cote often may yet be found built on the peak of the gable, between the chancel and the nave, that the rope might fall at a short distance from the spot where knelt the youth or person who served at mass. From the first part of its use, this bell got the name of the "Saints," "Sanctys,"

or "Sanctus," bell; and many notices concerning it are to be met with in old accompts. At the other masses in the chantry chapels, and at the different altars about the (154) church, a small hand-bell was employed for this, among other liturgical uses.¹⁴

At the beginning of the canon, the priest prayed—by name, but within himself—for the then pope, the bishop of the diocese, and for the king, besides his own friends, and all there present; and among those other saints whose memory is venerated there, he enumerated that one whose body lay enshrined in the church wherein he was then offering up the holy sacrifice. Of this latter rite, we are told by Matthew Paris, in his life of Abbot William, who got this privilege from Pope Innocent III. in the council of Lateran.¹⁵

¹⁴ In some, very likely in most, places there were two distinct bells, one for the "sanctus," the other for the elevation: thus, in the inventory of the goods, plate, &c., gathered together for king Edward VI.'s use in the county of Durham, we find, very often, such an entry as this:—thre bells in the stepell, a lyttell sauce bell, a saoring bell, and a hand bell.—*Eccl. Proceedings of Bishop Barnes* (Surt. Soc., vol. xxii.), lii. The council of Exeter (A.D. 1287) decreed that in every church there should be:—*campanella deferenda ad infirmos, et ad elevationem corporis Christi*.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii. 139.

¹⁵ Abbas (S. Albani), erectus in medio, satis modeste et eleganter exorsus est, coram Papa et toto Concilio, suam sic in propatulo quæstionem:—"Sancte Pater, nos qui alicujus Sancti corpus in ecclesiis habere dinoscimur, licetne nobis in Secreto Missæ, inter alios quos invocamus Suffragatores, nomen ipsius recitare? Desideramus super hoc certificari . . ." Ad quod, in audientia omnium, respondens Papa . . . dixit; "Videtur mihi dignum, juriq[ue] consonum, ut devote in Secreto Missæ (videlicet, in serie primo nominatorum), Sanctus, cujus corpore aliqua gratulatur

(155) On getting to the *Hanc igitur oblationem*, &c., instead of spreading his hands over the chalice, as we now do, he laid them upon the corporal; and, looking down at the host, said the above prayer.¹⁶

All through the Anglo-Saxon period there was not, as now, any elevation immediately after the consecration, although our fathers of those ages believed as strongly in transubstantiation, and worshipped with just as much love and awe the very body and blood of Christ in the mass, as we do. This has been shown at full length in another part of the present work.¹⁷ To make the liturgy speak out her true teaching, and thus withstand those new, and therefore false, doctrines of Berenger against the holy Eucharist, the Church in France, where that heretic had scattered about his bad seed, bethought herself, towards the end of the eleventh, or the beginning of the twelfth, century, of the Elevation. This beautiful and becoming ceremonial spread slowly from France all through Latin Christendom; but we have no grounds for thinking that it had reached so far as Normandy during William I.'s

ecclesia, nomen, eiusque suffragium in loco suo proprio merito postuletur."—*Vitæ S. Albani Abb.*, 76 [*R.S.*, xxviii. i. 261, 262].

¹⁶ Cum autem venerit (sacerdos) ad *Hanc igitur oblationem*, &c., submitte manus super altare ex utraque parte corporalium respiciat hostiam donec dicat *Quæsumus Domine*, &c.; tunc elevans in pristinum statum; modeste respiciat sursum, et cætera proseguendo.—*Manuale ad Usus Sarum*, MS., in my possession.

¹⁷ Vol. i. p. 18.

reign: certain is it, that neither in the valuable work of John of Avranches (*Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis*), nor in the *Tractatus* on the same subject by St. Osmund, can be found the slightest traces of it. The precise time when the elevation just after the consecration got into use in England, is not known; we learn, however, from various (156) sources, that the thirteenth century is, most likely, the period which saw its first adoption here. In a synod held under Archbishop Stephen Langton, at Oxford (A.D. 1222), it was decreed that the laity should be continually urged to genuflect when the Blessed Sacrament was carried by, and also at the elevation of the host in the consecration of the mass:¹⁸ and Hugh Patshull, bishop of Lichfield (A.D. 1240), gave similar directions, in one of his statutes for his cathedral.¹⁹ Whether, at that period, the chalice also used to be elevated, as well as the host, is not quite clear; and, from the wording of the two quotations just cited, it would seem it was not. Though perhaps, at its first introduction, this rite may not have been accompanied by the tolling of any

¹⁸ *Frequenter moneantur laici, ut ubicunque videant Corpus Domini deferri, statim genua flectant tanquam Creatori et Redemptori suo; et junctis manibus, quousque transierit, orent humiliter, et hoc maxime fiat tempore consecrationis in elevatione hostiæ, quum panis in verum corpus Christi transformatur, et id, quod est in calice, in sui sanguinem mystica benedictione transformatur.*—Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 594.

¹⁹ *Quando elevatur corpus Christi adoret stando, quo dimisso prosternat se chorus.*—Dugdale, *Mon. Anglic.*, viii. 1259.

bell, the practice soon after was to ring at the elevation. This was particularly required in one of the statutes drawn up (A.D. 1240) by William de Cantilupe, for his diocese of Worcester.²⁰ A few years afterwards, John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, sent forth (A.D. 1281) a series of *Constitutiones*, one of which (*De custodia Eucharistiæ*) not only required a bell to be rung at such a part of the mass, but that all who might hear it, whether at home or abroad in the fields, should kneel down and pray.²¹

For this ringing at the parish mass, so that the toll might be heard both within and far beyond the church itself, the "Sanctus" bell, of which we have already spoken [p. 153], was no doubt used; but for the elevation at all other masses, little hand-bells, sometimes made of silver and called the "sacring" bell, were employed: may be, too, a small bell used to be hung somewhere nigh the altar, for liturgical purposes. "In the church of Hawsted, Suffolk," says Cullum, "there still hangs a little bell on the rood-loft. It is about six inches diameter."²²

²⁰ Cum autem in celebratione missæ corpus Domini per manus sacerdotum in altum erigitur, campanella pulsetur, ut per hoc devotio torpentium excitetur, ac aliorum charitas fortius inflammetur.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 667.

²¹ In elevatione vero ipsius corporis Domini pulsetur campana in (157) uno latere, ut populares, quibus celebrationi Missarum non vacat quotidie interesse, ubicunque fuerint, seu in agris seu in domibus, flectant genua, indulgentias concessas a pluribus episcopis habituri.—*Ibid.*, ii. 52; see also 132.

²² *Hist. and Antiquit. of Hawsted*, 34.

On hearing the sacring bells first tinkle, those in church who were not already on their knees knelt down, and, with upraised hands, worshipped their Maker in the holy housel lifted on high before them.

When he got to the *Supplices te rogamus*, instead of joining his hands as we do, the priest folded his arms cross-wise—*cancellatis manibus*—upon his breast, and bowed him down very lowly before the altar the while he said that prayer. At the *Libera nos*, after taking up and kissing the paten, he put it first to his left then to his right eye, before he made the sign of the cross upon himself. When he broke the host into three parts, instead of laying the two larger ones on the paten, he held them both in his left hand, as, having the small particle in his right hand, he made the sign of the cross three times with it over the chalice whilst he said *Pax Domini sit semper nobiscum*. He then said the *Agnus Dei* thrice; but, as he still kept holding the small particle between the (158) forefinger and thumb of his right hand, he could not, as we do, strike his breast each time at those words; and at the *dona nobis pacem*, ending the last *Agnus Dei*, he dropped that fragment into the chalice.

Throughout a great part of the year, on ferial and lower class saints' days, prayers for the recovery of the holy land, and in behalf of those Christians who were bondsmen there, used to

be said at the parochial mass immediately before the *Pax*. These prayers consisted of the three psalms: *Deus venerunt gentes*, &c. (psalm lxxviii.) [lxxix.], *Deus misereatur nostri*, &c. (psalm lxvi.) [lxvii.], and *Domine in virtute tua*, &c. (psalm xx.) [xxi.], followed by as many collects; one beseeching the return to Christian hands of Judæa, the second for the bishop's weal, the third for the king's. Such a service was appointed in the York as well as the Sarum missal, both forms for which are very much alike.²³

²³ The following is the service as appointed in the York Missal:—*In omnibus feriis et in omnibus Festis trium lectionum a festo Sanctæ Trinitatis usque ad Vigiliam Nativitatis Domini, et ab Octavis Epiphaniæ usque ad Cenam Domini ac etiam tempore Paschali exceptis Octavis præcipuis, post Pater noster dicantur Psalmi sequentes.*

Psalmus. Deus venerunt gentes, et cetera, ut in *Psalterio*, cum singulis versibus. Gloria Patri. Sicut erat in principio. Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson. Pater noster. Et ne nos. Sed libera. Exsurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici ejus. Et fugiant. Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine: Et benedic hæreditati tuæ. Oremus pro afflictis et captivis: Mitte eis, Domine auxilium, de sancto. Esto nobis, Domine, turris fortitudinis: Fiat pax in virtute tua. Domine, Deus virtutum, converte nos. Domine exaudi orationem meam. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus. *Oratio.* Deus, qui admirabili providentia cuncta disponis, te suppliciter exoramus, ut terram quam (159) Unigenitus Filius tuus Dominus noster proprio sanguine consecravit, de manibus inimicorum crucis Christi eripiens, restituas cultui Christiano, vota fidelium ad ejus liberationem instantium misericorditer dirigendo in viam salutis æternæ. Per eundem.

Quando vero alia Missa serialiter celebratur eodem die infra ecclesiam sive extra Ecclesiam preces dicuntur in alia Missa hoc modo.

Psalmus. Ad Dominum, cum tribularer. Gloria Patri. Sicut erat.

Psalmus. Levavi oculos. Gloria Patri. Sicut erat.

Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson. Pater noster, &c.—*York Missal* (Surtees Soc.), i. 206, 207.

In the Sarum Missal the same prayers are found among the *Post Missam dicenda*. At these prayers a particular bell was tolled.²⁴

Just before the *Pax Domini*, certain prayers were sometimes said for the welfare while they lived, and their soul's good after death, of particular benefactors. Thus did the convent of Durham bargain with king Henry VII., that at every Chapter Mass prayers should be said for him by the clergy at the altar and by the choir.²⁵

Keeping up the old usage followed by the Anglo-Saxons, the Salisbury rubric was to send, just before the communion, the *Pax* all about the church. This token of good-will and brotherly love was conveyed from one to another by a kiss upon the cheek. Pressing his lips to the outside of the chalice, which held the blood of Christ, the sacrificing priest thus took, as it were, the

²⁴ Pulsatur campana pro terra sancta in celebratione missæ.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 625.

²⁵ Concessimus insuper, et per præsentes concedimus eidem sacratissimæ vestræ majestati, ut in qualibet Missa capitulari ad aliquod altare ecclesiæ prædictæ, per nos vel aliquem nostrum vel successorum nostrorum, aut alium monachum fratrem, sacerdotem, sive ministrum quemcumque, celebranda, statim post fractionem postea et decantacionem vel leccionem *Per omnia secula seculorum*, et ante inchoacionem *Pax Domini*, quod celebrans ipse una cum sibi assistantibus ministris inter se et chorus prostratus, scilicet inter se, pro salute et incolumitate ac prospero et felici statu majestatis vestræ singulis diebus quoad vixeris, psalmos et suffragia sequencia dicent et (160) legent. . . . Cum vero ab hac luce migraveritis, extunc in omni supradicta missa, &c.—*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, cccxcii. &c.

kiss from our Lord himself, and then gave it either to the individual highest in holy orders then present, or to the person who served his mass. This clerk, in his turn, carried the kiss from the altar to the people by kissing the chief personage among the men, who, turning about, saluted each his neighbour. Of such a ceremony, we have more than one interesting evidence amid our national records. Happening to go into a church which stood nigh the spot where he had but just landed on the English shore, prince—afterwards king—Henry II. had given him immediately the kiss by the clerk who had that moment received it from the priest.²⁶ The way in which Richard I. once gave the kiss of peace to St. Hugh of Lincoln, is curiously illustrative of this rite.²⁷

(161) Before sending forth the *Pax*, or kiss of peace, the priest said this prayer: *Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus: da michi hoc sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi ita digne sumere; ut merear per hoc remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum*

²⁶ Applicuit igitur in Angliam dux Henricus, divertitque in ecclesiam littori contiguam oraturus. Ingressusque basilicam subito obvium habuit ministrum altaris, acceptumque a presbytero celebrante divina misteria, osculum pacis oblatum ab eo primus omnium ipse accepit. — John of Hexham, in Twysden, i. 278.

²⁷ Et cum pacis osculum sacerdos cuidam dedisset archiepiscopo, qui regi pacem oblaturus esset, rex ei usque ad gradum obuius processit, sumptumque pacis accepte signum cum humili reuerentia episcopo lincolniensi per oris sui osculum porrexit. — *Vita S. Hugonis*, in Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. Horstman, ii. 47.

accipere et tuo Sancto Spiritu replei, et pacem tuam habere. Quia tu es Deus et non est alius praeter te; cujus regnum et imperium gloriosum sine fine permanet in secula seculorum.

About the middle of the thirteenth century, a new way of giving this kiss of peace was followed. Instead of the clerk's cheek, the priest kissed the figure of our Blessed Lord, painted on a small piece of wood, or graven on a plate of copper, set in a frame, with a handle behind, as is shown in this cut. So shaped, it could easily be carried about among the people by the clerk, in his left hand; and, after each kiss bestowed upon it,



From the original in my possession

wiped with a little napkin which he held for that purpose in his right hand. The earliest mention anywhere of such a ritual appliance, is to be found among this country's ecclesiastical enactments, in which it is called "osculatorium," "asser pacis," "tabula pacis."²⁸ Its more common name was

²⁸ Among other sacred things to be found by the parishioners for their church, according to the statutes of Archbishop Walter Gray, for his province of York (A.D. 1250), was "osculatorium." (Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 698.) In like manner the synod of Exeter

(162) "pax-brede," which at once told its liturgical purpose, and of what material it happened, at first, to be generally made. Afterwards, gold, silver, ivory, jewels, enamel, and the most beautiful workmanship, were bestowed upon it; though, for poor churches, it still continued to be of wood, or, at



(Dat. xxvij. artikel vander missen es

GIVING OF PAX

most, of copper gilt.²⁹ How the pax-brede used to stand on the altar all through mass, is shown

(A.D. 1287) decreed there should be "asser ad pacem" (*ibid.*, ii. 139), and the council of Merton (A.D. 1305), "tabulas pacis ad osculatorium" (*ibid.*, 280).

²⁹ Jeffrey Baxter and John his wyffe gave ij paxbreds of sylver to the church of Swaffham. (Blomefield, *Norfolk*, vi. 219); and Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York (who died A.D. 1550), bequeathed to the parish church of his birthplace "unum pax-bred deauratum cum ymage Christi passi venerat. a Sto. Gregorio, pond. v. un'c. di. Item unum paxbred deauratum, cum uno birall in medio, pond. 9. un'c. quar't. di. Item unum paxbred cum osse Sancti Firmini, pond. x. un'c. et i. quart." — Hearne, *Liber niger Scaccarii*, ii. 673.

by the accompanying picture. As a kind of public penance from notorious and hardened sinners, the first thing was to withhold, not only the holy bread, but the "pax" also, (163) at the parochial mass on Sundays.³⁰

That, at one period, the practice was to send



⦿ Dat vijfte artikel der missen es

PAX ON THE ALTAR

The "pax" is standing on the gospel side of the altar, at mass

round the kiss of peace in every low mass, we learn from many documents. It is noticed in the passage we gave just now about the "introit," from the life of St. Bartholomew (p. 171); and when St. Thomas of Canterbury, as he was fleeing from his enemies, stopped at a little village, then called Estere, on the Kentish coast, the pax used to be brought him in his hiding-place, which was

³⁰ *Inderdicto eis primo pacis osculo et pane benedicto in ecclesia.*—Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 635.

so close to the chancel of the church, that he could hear mass through a small hole in the wall.³¹

Not only the pax-brede itself, but the book of the gospels especially, when bound in gold or silver, used to be employed, at high mass on holy-days, for such a ritual purpose. Thus, at Durham cathedral, "when the monkes went to say or singe the high masse, the gospeller did carrye a marvelous faire booke, which had the epistles and gospels in it, and did lay it on the altar, the which booke had on the outside of the coveringe the picture of our Saviour Christ, all of silver, of goldsmith's worke, all parcell gilt, verye fine to behould; which booke did (164) serve for the pax in the masse."³² Most likely the textus—of which we have already spoken (vol. i. p. 249), and now in the British Museum—used to be carried about for the same service.

As soon as he had sent forth the pax, the priest took up from off the paten the host in both his hands, and prayed those sublime prayers which, whilst they differ from, are much more beautiful and warmer than those now in the Roman missal at the same place: *Deus Pater fons et origo totius bonitatis qui ductus misericordia unigenitum tuum*

³¹ Ubi facto in pariete foramine (fuit utique prope ecclesiam), audivit missarum solennia cum plebe id ignorante presbytero etiam sacramenti perceptione perfrunte. Clericus quidam hujus rei conscius osculum pacis ad archiepiscopum deferabat.—Alan, *l'ita S. Thomæ*, ed. Giles, i. 352 [*R.S.*, lxvii. ii. 335].

³² *Ancient Monuments, Rites, and Customs within the Monastic Church of Durham*, 7 (ed. Surtees Society).

pro nobis ad infima mundi descendere et carnem sumere voluisti. Then, as he uttered those words : *Quam ego indignus hic in manibus meis teneo*—which flesh of thine only Son, that I, unworthy man, am here holding in my hands—he bowed to the host ; then continuing : *Te adoro, Te glorifico, Te tota mentis ac cordis intentione laudo et precor, ut nos famulos tuos non deseras, sed peccata nostra dimittas quatinus tibi soli vivo ac vero Deo puro corde ac casto corpore servire valeamus. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*

To this followed, *Domine Jesu Christe, &c.*, as in the present Roman missal : then, *Corporis et sanguinis tui, Domine Jesu Christe, sacramentum quod licet indignus accipio : non sit michi iudicio et condemnationi sed tua prosit pietate corporis mei et animæ saluti. Amen.* Before putting the flesh of Christ into his mouth, it was with these words that he hailed it, bending himself lowly down : *Ave in æternum sanctissima caro Christi : michi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit michi peccatori via et vita. In nomine Patris ; et Filii ; et Spiritus sancti. Amen :* making the sign of the (165) cross upon his mouth with that precious body before receiving it. Ere he drank the sacred blood in the chalice, he spoke to it these feelings of his love : *Ave in æternum celestis potus michi ante omnia super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi prosint michi peccatori ad remedium sempiternum*

in vitam eternam. Amen. In nomine Patris; et Filii; et Spiritus sancti. Amen. After taking the blood the priest bowed himself down, and made his thanksgiving thus: *Gratias tibi ago, Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne Deus: qui me refecisti de sacratissimo corpore et sanguine filii tui domini nostri Jesu Christi, et precor ut hoc sacramentum salutis nostre quod sumpsi indignus peccator non veniat michi ad iudicium neque ad condemnationem pro meritis meis, sed ad profectum corporis mei et anime salutem in vitam eternam. Amen.*

Next, the priest went to the south corner of the altar, holding the chalice so that the first finger and the thumb of each hand might be within it, and thus washed them, as well as the inside of the chalice, with the wine and water that the acolyte poured over them. This wine and water the priest drank. If, however, he had to offer up another mass that day, this rinsing of his hands and of the chalice the priest either poured down the piscina, or into a small cup, that he might take it along with the last rinsing of his fingers in the chalice.^{52a} Every priest might

^{52a} Qua dicta eat sacerdos ad dextrum cornu altaris cum calice inter manus digitis adhuc conjunctis sicut prius: et accedat subdyaconus et effundat in calicem vinum et aquam, et resinceret sacerdos manus suas ne aliquae reliquiae corporis vel sanguinis remaneant in digitis vel in calice. Cum vero aliquis sacerdos debet bis celebrare in uno die: tunc ad primam missam non debet percipere ablutionem ullam, sed ponere in sacrario vel in vase mundo usque in finem (166) alterius; tunc sumatur utraque ablutio. Such is the rubric in most of the printed and handwritten missals. [Ed. Burntisland, col. 627.] In a Sarum Manual,

say more than one mass, not only on Christmas day but Easter Sunday, and whenever a burial was to take place in his church. Thus, in the council of Oxford (A.D. 1222), the canon "ne quis celebret bis in die" lays down this rule.³³ That before the council of Oxford, the custom with some priests was to say two masses a day—one mass being for the dead—is clear from the life of Gundulf, consecrated bishop of Rochester, A.D. 1077.³⁴

(167) After the first washing of his fingers, the priest said *Quod ore sumpsimus*, &c.; and then washing them a second time over the chalice he recited this prayer to himself: *Hec nos communio, Domine, purget a crimine, et celestis remedii faciat esse consortes*. At the end of

a MS. of the fifteenth century, belonging to me, it is shorter, thus: *Post hæc accedat minister et effundat vinum et aquam in calicem. Et si necesse fuerit ut sacerdos iterum celebret nichil de effusione percipiat sed in sacrario ponat. Post primam infusionem, dicit, &c.*

³³ Districtius inhibentes, ne sacerdos quispiam Missarum solennia celebret bis in die; excepto die Nativitatis et Resurrectionis Dominicæ, vel in obsequiis defunctorum; viz., cum corpus alicujus in ecclesia eodem die fuerit tumulandum, et tunc prior Missa de die, posterior vero pro defuncto celebretur.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 586.

³⁴ Of this prelate we are told: *Duas denique singulis fere diebus celebrare solitus erat Missas, quas inter oculum vix sudum habebat. Primam quidem de dominica aut de commemoratione B. Mariæ vel B. Andreæ aut alicujus sancti cujus memoriam specialius relegebat, sive pro familiaribus amicis; secundam pro defunctis. . . . Cum autem in directum absque cantu usque post evangelium, quod ipse legebat, eadem Missa diceretur, dicto Dominus vobiscum, excelsa voce dicebat Oremus. Statim subsequerentur pueri, dulcisona modulatione cantantes offerendam Domine Jesu Christe, sive O pie Deus. — Monachus Roff., *Vita Gundulfi*, in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 282.*

this prayer came the following rubric in the printed, but not in the older hand-written, copies of the Salisbury missal:—Post perceptionem ablutio-
num ponat sacerdos calicem super patenam; ut si quid remanserit in calice stillet: et postea inclinando se dicat orationem sequentem *Adoremus crucis signaculum per quod salutis sump-*



¶ Dat. xxxij. artikel vander missen es

simus sacramentum.^{34a} The custom, nowhere practised now, of laying the chalice down to drain upon the paten, is well shown in this picture.

The priest then washed his hands,—if not always, at least almost everywhere,—in the piscina: for the rubric in a MS. in my possession is thus: *Deinde lavet in sacrario: postea dicat cō et postcō, &c.* That the piscina, or sacrarium, served, among

^{34a} *Sarum Missal*, 628.

other liturgical purposes, for both the washings of hands at mass, is clear, not only from the foregoing rubric, but also from the words, *Lavate puras manus*, that are found written either within or above some of them, in some of our old churches.³⁵

(168) Having sipped up any little drop which might have run down upon the paten, or to the rim of the chalice, the priest folded the corporals and put them into the corporas-case, and then said, as now, the communion and post-communions proper to the day; and, at the end of the last of these prayers, drew upon his forehead the sign of the cross. After saluting the people with *Dominus vobiscum*, with *Ite, missa est*, or *Benedicamus Domino*, as it might be, he bowed him down at the middle of the altar, and, with hands joined, recited the *Placeat tibi sancta Trinitas obsequium servitutis meæ*, &c., at the end of which he raised his head, signed the cross upon himself, with the words *In nomine Patris*, &c.; and, having made a low bow to the altar, without either giving his blessing to the people or reading a gospel of any kind, he went back to the vestry, saying, not aloud, but to himself, St. John's *In principio erat verbum*, &c.

Though not prescribed, the blessing, after some way or another, of the people by the priest who

³⁵ As in Great Cressingham, Norfolk; see Blomefield, *Norfolk*, vi. 101.

had just done mass, it is likely, was allowed under the Sarum use. In that of York, the priest gave a blessing to those about him, with the empty chalice and the folded corporals after mass, upon every festival of the double class.³⁶

(169) At Evreux the custom was to bestow this benediction with the chalice only;³⁷ and in



Belgium the paten served the purpose, as the accompanying illustration shows.

³⁶ ¶ *Benedictio generalis, cum calice et corporalibus plicatis, post missam dicitur omnibus festis duplicibus per annum hoc modo:—*

Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini:
Qui fecit celum et terram.
Sit nomen Domini benedictum:
Ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum.

Benedictio.

Benedicat vos divina maiestas et una deitas; pater et filius ✠ et spiritus sanctus.—*York Missal* (Surtees Soc.), ii. 196.

³⁷ Martene, *De Antiq. Ecc. Rit.*, i. 4, art. xii. ordo xxviii.

If not the general, it seems to have been a very common, practice with our old English priests to distribute the Eucharist among the people, not at the communion of the mass, but when the holy sacrifice had been done. After the mass said for his good speed and welfare the day he started, was it, as we already noticed (vol. iii. p. 377), that the pilgrim had given him the housel; and the poet Langland, himself a priest, makes *Do best* thus speak :

(I) dude me to churchē,
To huyre holliche þe masse · and be housled after.³⁸

Instead of the acolyte, the communicant, whenever he was scholar enough, said the *Confiteor* for himself. Thus of Richard II. at his coronation, Walsingham tells us that he did so before his communion;³⁹ so, too, did Henry VII. and his queen at their coronation, as will be observed hereafter (p. 199).

After communion, lay folks drank, not of the (170) consecrated chalice, but unhallowed wine from out another chalice, to help them to swallow with more ease and readiness the Eucharistic particle. Such a rubric was especially followed at the general houselings of the people at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, and the priest was

³⁸ *Piers Ploughman*, Passus, xxii. 2, 3, ed. Skeat, 399.

³⁹ *Percelebrata Missa usque ad Communionem, reductus est Rex ad altare, et genu flexo coram Archiepiscopo, dixit "Confiteor." Quo absoluto, communicatus est, et iterum reductus est ad sedem suam.*—Ed. Camden, 197 [*R.S.*, xxviii., Walsingham, i. 337].

told to warn his flock, that what they sipped from the chalice was mere wine; for in the Sacrament, though given them under one kind only, they had the blood as well as the flesh of Christ,—Christ whole and entire, true and alive, with all of himself, flesh and blood, in the Sacrament.⁴⁰

The purchase of wine for such a purpose is often set down in old church accompts thus: In vino empto per annum (1364) pro celebracione et pro communione parochianorum ad Pascam xvs. jd.⁴¹ In (171) the *Device for the coronation of Henry VII.*, it is set forth that “the king shall offere (at the high mass, in Westminster Abbey), an obley of bred laid uppon the patent of saynt Edward his chalice, with the which obley after consecrate the king shalbe houselled; also, he shall offere, in a cruet with wyne, which he shall use in the said chalice after he is housilled, and whiles the said

⁴⁰ This we learn from Archbishop Peckham, who says: Attendant insuper sacerdotes, quod cum communionem sacram porrigunt simplicibus paschali tempore vel alio, solícite eos instruant sub panis specie simul eis dari corpus et sanguinem Domini, immo Christum integrum, vivum et verum, qui totus est sub specie sacramenti. Doceant etiam eosdem illud quod ipsis eisdem temporibus in calice propinatur, sacramentum non esse, sed vinum purum eis hauriendum, traditum, ut facilius sacrum corpus glutiant, quod perceperunt.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii. 53. By the council of Exeter (A.D. 1287) it was enacted that in every church there must be, among other things, a little cup of silver or tin for taking to the sick, who should drink out of it the water in which the priest had washed the tips of his fingers after he had given them the viaticum:—Sit in qualibet ecclesia . . . cippus argenteus vel stanneus pro infirmis, ut postquam Eucharistiam assumpserint, loturam digitorum suorum sacerdos sibi præbeat in eodem.—*Ibid.*, 139.

⁴¹ *Priory of Coldingham*, xlv., ed. Surtees Society.

quere is so synging (the *Agnus Dei*) the chieff bisshopp that afor bare the gospell boke to the king and the quene, shal bring the pax unto them; and when the king and quene have kissed it, thei shall descend, and, susteyned and accustomed as above, they shall goo to the high aulter, and after the cardinall hath commoned his self, he having betwene his hands the same chalice wheruppon the holy sacrement shalbe laide, shall turne hymself to the king and to the quene, and thei lying prostrate before hym shall saye their *Confiteor*, all the prelates answering *Misereatur*, and the cardinall seying absolucion; that doon, the king and the quene shall somewhat arise kneeling, and with great humylite and devocion receyve the sacrament by thands of the said cardinall; ij. of the grettest astate then present holding befor the king and the quene a long towell of silke. This so done, the king and the quene shall stand upp and take wyne of the bove rehersed chalice by thandes of thabbot of Westmynster."⁴² Such a draught is indeed, to this day, given to all clerks after they have received the Eucharist at their ordination; and is also prescribed for the people, every time they communicate, by the Roman missal.⁴³ Such a rubric, however, like a few others, is nowhere observed now. The old English

⁴² *Rutland Papers*, ed. Camden Society, 21, 22.

⁴³ *Minister autem dextera manu tenens vas cum vino et aqua, sinistra vero mappulam, aliquanto post sacerdotem eis porrigit purificationem et mappulam ad os (172) abstergendum.*

Bridal Mass

had its peculiar ceremonies, especially its blessing, both in the Salisbury and York uses. The sacrament itself of wedlock used always to be gone through at the church door, that so as much of the world as possible should witness it. To afford shelter from bad weather for the priest and those unto whom he had to administer this and other rites of religion, a wide porch was everywhere built before the people's door into church. Hither the king, no less than the beggar-man, brought her whom he was about to make his wife.⁴⁴ From the porch the priest led the married couple into church and up to the altar steps, where, begging all present to join with him, he prayed over them, and then, putting them to kneel on the south side of the chancel, he began mass.⁴⁵ At the

⁴⁴ Thus, of Henry I.'s marriage with Matilda, one of our old writers tells us :—*Verum, cum ipsa conjunctio juxta ritum Ecclesiæ fieri firmarique deberet, Pater ipse (Anselmus Archiep. Cantuar.) totam regni nobilitatem populumque minorem, pro hoc ipso circumfluentem, necnon pro foribus ecclesiæ regem et illam circumvallantem, sublimius cæteris stans in commune edocuit, &c. (Eadmer, Hist. Novor., iii. [P.L., clix. 428])*; and of Edward I.'s, with Margaret of France: *Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Robertus celebravit sponsalia inter prædictum regem Edwardum, et Margaretam sororem regis Franciæ in hostio ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis versus claustrum . . . et subsequenter idem archiepiscopus celebravit Missam sponsalium ad altare feretri S. Thomæ Martyris.*—Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 51.

⁴⁵ *Statuantur vir et (173) mulier ante ostium ecclesiæ sive in faciem ecclesiæ coram Deo et sacerdote et [populo, &c. . . . Hic in trent in ecclesiam usque ad gradum altaris, et sacerdos in eundo cum suis ministris dicat ps. Beati omnes, &c. ; tunc prostratis sponso*

"Sanctus," both the bride and bridegroom knelt near the altar's foot; and then, if neither had been married before, over them a pall, or as it used to be called, the "care-cloth," was held at its four corners by as many clerics.⁴⁶ Whilst glancing at this ceremony, the far-famed Grossetete, Bishop of Lincoln (who died A.D. 1253), brings to our knowledge a curious fact once bound up along with it, viz., that illegitimate children who were legitimised by the subsequent marriage of their parents according to civil law and custom were placed under this canopy at the wedding as a sign of their legitimation.⁴⁷ (174) The bride, when a maiden, wore her hair flowing down loose upon her shoulders, and nothing but a wreath of jewels

et sponsa ante gradum altaris, roget sacerdos circumstantes orare pro eis, . . . Finitis orationibus et introductis illis in presbiterium scilicet inter chorum et altare ex parte ecclesie australi, et statuta muliere ad dexteram viri scilicet inter ipsum et altare incipiatur Missa de Trinitate.—*Missale Sarum*, Ordo Sponsalium. [Burntisland Edition, 830*.] The liturgical and archæological student should notice how the above rubric so clearly sets forth what we are to understand by the "presbytery" of a large church.

⁴⁶ Post *Sanctus* prosternant se sponsus et sponsa in oratione ad gradum altaris extenso pallio super eos quod teneant quattuor clerici ad quattuor cornua, nisi alter eorum vel ambo prius desponsati fuerint et benedicti: quia tunc non habetur pallium super eos, neque sacramentalis benedictio.—[*Ibid.*, 839*.]

⁴⁷ Sicut notissimum, jura etiam civilia natos ante matrimonium per subsequens matrimonium legitimos decernant et hæredes; et ut seniorum relatione didici, consuetudo etiam in hoc regno antiquitus obtenta et approbata, tales legitimos habuit et hæredes: unde in signum legitimationis, nati ante matrimonium conseruerunt poni sub pallio super parentes eorum extento in matrimonii solennizatione.—*Opuscula Grosseteste episcopi Lincoln*, in Brown, *Fasciculus Rerum Expend.*, ii. 320.

(called a "paste"),⁴⁸ or flowers, about her head: "Thre ornamentes longe principally to a wyfe: a rynge on her fynger, a broche on her breste, and a garlonde on her hede . . . the garlond be-tokenethe gladnesse and the dignitie of the sacrament of wedloke," says Pauper.⁴⁹ At her marriage with King James of Scotland, our Henry VII.'s eldest daughter Margaret, "had a varey riche coller of gold, of pyerrery and perles round her neck, and the cronne apou hyr hed, her hayre hangyng. Betwyx the said cronne and the hayres was a varey riche coyfe hangyng down behynde the whole length of the body."⁵⁰

After the *Pater noster*, and just before the *Pax*, turning himself about towards the married couple, the priest bestowed upon them the nuptial benediction. The care-cloth was then taken away, the bridegroom arose from his knees, went up and got the kiss of peace immediately from the priest, and coming back to his wife, gave it to her by a kiss upon the cheek. The clerk taking the *pax* in the ordinary way with the *paxbrede* from the celebrant, went and carried it about

⁴⁸ The blessed Virgin Mary is so figured in all works of mediæval art. Items for making and mending these "pastes" and diadems are found in old churchwardens' accoupts; thus:—paid to Alice Lewis, a goldsmith's wife of London, for a serclett to marry maydens in, iijl. A.D. 1540.—*Illustrations, &c.*, 11.

Every church was to have, by the decrees of the council of Exeter (A.D. 1287), *velum nuptiale*.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii. 139.

⁴⁹ Fol. 197, b.

⁵⁰ Leland, *Collectanea*, iv. 293.

as usual to the rest of those there.⁵¹ After mass, bread and wine or other drink were hallowed by the priest, who tasted of them along with the bride and bridegroom and all their friends present in the church.⁵² At princess Margaret's marriage "two prelates helde the cloth upon them duryng the remanent of the masse. That and all the ceremonyes accomplyshed, ther was brought by the lordes bred and wyn in ryche potts and ryche cuppes." So, also, when Queen Mary wedded Philip in Winchester cathedral, both stayed in the choir "untill mase was don, at which tyme wyne and sopes were hallowed and delivered unto them," &c.⁵³

In the bridal mass, the York varied somewhat from the Sarum use: only two clerics held the care-cloth, and a blessing was bestowed by the priest with the chalice upon the newly-married folks.⁵⁴ This blessing, according to the York

⁵¹ Post hec vertat se (175) sacerdos et dicat *Pax Domini et Agnus Dei* more solito. Tunc amoto pallio surgant ab oratione sponsus et sponsa; et accipiat sponsus pacem a sacerdote et ferat sponse, osculans eam et neminem alium nec ipse nec ipsa: sed clericus statim a presbitero pacem accipiens proferat aliis sicut solitum est.—*Sarum Missal*, 844 *.

⁵² Post Missam benedicatur panis et vinum vel aliquod bonum potabile in vasculo et gustent in nomine Domini, &c.—*Ibid*.

⁵³ Leland, *Collectanea*, 294, 400.

⁵⁴ *Da propitius pacem*, &c. Hic sacerdos faciat fractiones Eucharistie more solito et dicat *Per omnia secula seculorum*. Postea dimittat fractiones supra patenam, et calice corporalibus cooperto vertat se sacerdos ad sponsum et sponsam et dicat super eos orationes sequentes illis genu flectentibus sub palio super eos extento quod teneant duo clerici in suppelliciis. Propter solemnitatem huius sacramenti dat sacerdos benedictionem cum calice si

rite with the chalice, like the blessing with the paten abroad, seems to have been given at the end of mass on high festivals.⁵⁵

The Mass for the Dead,

or "soul mass," as our fathers called it, had its ritual peculiarities, but they were very few. Neither the *Gloria in excelsis*, nor *Alleluia* was said; after the gradual *Requiem æternam*, &c., followed the tract *Sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes aquarum*, &c., or *De profundis*, &c. There was no sequence of any kind, and therefore no *Dies iræ*, which is not to be found in any part of the Sarum use.⁵⁶ Beautiful, nay, sublime as is that hymn, it (177) is comparatively new even to the

placet : et deposita casula antequam exeant, dicat sacerdos super eos hanc orationem : *Domine* (176) *sancle pater omnipotens eterne Deus*, &c.—*York Missal* (Surt. Soc.), ii. 192.

⁵⁵ In the foundation-deed for Carman's Spital, Flixton, Yorkshire, in the reign of Henry VI., it is ordained that : Vicarius ecclesiæ de Folketon . . . ad quandam capellam, infra hospitale prædictum situatam . . . singulis annis in festo S. Andreæ . . . Missam hanc ibidem solempniter, cum benedictione calicis celebrare ; ac post Missam illam panem et aquam sanctificare, et inter populum Missam illam audientem dividere et spergere hucusque usitati fuissent, &c.—*Mon. Angl.*, vii. 614.

⁵⁶ That as far back as St. Osmund's days, there was known in England a sequence beginning with the words, "*Dies illa, dies iræ*," we learn from a writer of the twelfth century, the monk of Rochester, who, in the life of Gundulf, one of St. Osmund's brother bishops, says of his prelate :—*Aliquando enim cum in ecclesia illud decantari audiret. . . Afflicti pro peccatis nostris assidue cum lacrimis expectamus finem nostrum . . . vel illud, Dies illa, dies iræ, vel aliud simile compunctioni amicum*, &c. (*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 286). The likelihood is, that our present magnificent hymn is but an expansion of a much older sequence. [The sequence is in *Sarum Missal*, col. 884*.]

Roman liturgy ; for the true date of its employment at Rome is not earlier than the end of the fifteenth century. When we bear in mind that the very spirit of a prose or sequence is one of gladness, exultation and thanks,⁵⁷ and that *Te Deum* is left out of lauds, and *Gloria in excelsis* and *Alleluia* out of mass for the dead, we cannot be surprised that, magnificent as the *Dies iræ* is, it came to be inserted so late in the Roman missal.⁵⁸ The offertory prayer with its rubrics, was after this form :—*Post ablutionem manuum incipiat sacerdos junctis manibus in medio altaris hoc modo. Hostias et preces tibi Domine offerimus. Chorus respondeat: Tu suscipe pro animabus illis quarum hodie memoriam agimus, fac eas Domine de morte transire ad vitam. Et interim dicat sacerdos privatim In spiritu humilitatis more solito. Deinde dicat similiter privatim Orate* (178) *fratres et sorores pro fidelibus defunctis. Et chorus respondeat can-*

⁵⁷ As the *Ordo Romanus* tells us: *Jubilatio quam sequentiam vocant*—Hittorp, i. 3; and Honorius better still: *Alleluia ideo canimus, quia ad gaudium Anglorum tendimus. Sequentia ideo jubilamus, quia faciem Domini in jubilo videbimus.*—*Gemma Animæ*, i. 96; Hittorp, 1208.

⁵⁸ Some indeed have objected to its use; thus, Maldonatus says:—*Colligo curiositate privata aliquorum sacerdotum fuisse additam prosam in Missis quæ pro defunctis dicuntur, ut dicant Dies iræ, dies illa: quod fit extra rationem, et antiquissimos missales libros, qui tantum habent sequentiam in diebus lætis. And by the Dominicans it was forbidden to be said: Dominicani in notis quas (A.D. 1576) Salamanticæ ediderunt in proprii missalis ordinarium, hanc prosam, utpote quæ contra rubricas sit, statuunt non esse canendam.*—*Bona*, ed Sala, iii. 143.

tando: *Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis. Quam olim Abrahe promisisti et semini eius.*

The *Agnus Dei* ended, as now, twice with *dona eis requiem*, the third time with *requiem sempiternam*. Though no rubric in the Sarum missal or in St. Osmund's treatise speaks distinctly on the point, we cannot think that the kiss of peace was given at mass for the dead. An old English writer, Clement Maydeston, learned in the Sarum rubrics, says in his valuable little book, *Crede michi*, that the priest did not take the pax by kissing either the altar or the rim of the chalice, as in other masses; presumably therefore he did not give it to others.⁵⁹

The difference between the present Roman and the Salisbury form of the mass, the liturgical reader must have already seen: let us now find out in what the latter varied from the Anglo-Saxon.

The Sarum, like the Anglo-Saxon rite, taught the priest to begin mass with the *Confiteor*. All through the Anglo-Saxon, as during the earlier times of the Sarum period, no elevation took place immediately after the consecration. As in the Anglo-Saxon, so in the Sarum liturgy, as we shall behold a little further on, the use

⁵⁹ Sacerdos celebrans pro defunctis non debet post *Agnus Dei* pacem ab altari accipere, nec a calice secundum vsum Sarum.—Wordsworth, *Tracts of C. Maydeston* (H. B. S.), p. 37.

was for a bishop, whenever he said or sang mass, to give his blessing just before the *Pax*. There was no reservation of a fragment of the Eucharist from one mass to another in the Sarum, such as used to be in the Anglo-Saxon ritual. The Anglo-Saxon priest eat the flesh and (179) drank the blood of Christ in the sacrifice immediately after the third *Agnus Dei*, for none of those three prayers put in the Roman missal, nor any of those others set forth in that of Salisbury to be said between the *Agnus Dei* and the communion, are to be found in our Anglo-Saxon codices: the former of the two missals, bound up together in that very precious codex known as the Leofric Missal at Oxford, gives, at full length, the canon of the mass as it used to be said to our forefathers in the tenth century, and it ends with the *Agnus Dei*.⁶⁰ The earliest notice we have of these prayers, is in Theodoric's Life of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland; and from this Durham monk's words we learn that, when he wrote (A.D. 1093), one of them—*Domine Jesu Christe*—was said not before, but after the priest's communion.⁶¹ The likelihood is that St. Osmund brought this prayer

⁶⁰ Ed. Warren, p. 62.

⁶¹ *Senserat illa (Margareta) mortem adesse : moxque orationem, quæ post perceptionem Domini corporis et sanguinis a sacerdote dici solet incepit : Domine, inquit, Jesu Christe, qui ex voluntate Patris, &c. Cum diceret, libera me, liberata vinculis corporis anima, ad veræ libertatis, quem semper dilexerat, auctorem Christum migravit.*—*AA. SS. Junii*, ii. 335.

into use in this country; and, after his days, the one following—*Perceptio corporis tui*—got to be added to it, and that both were at first said not, as now, before, but after the communion. Very soon they were put to be recited, as a preparation, before the taking of the sacrament, along with those splendid declarations of Catholic belief in transubstantiation in the Sarum missal.

Regarding mass for the dead, or soul-mass, Theodore the sixth, archbishop of Canterbury after St. Austin, says that it differs from the ordinary mass in the omission of *Gloria*, *Alleluia*, and the kiss of peace.⁶²

But it was in

THE SERVICE UPON SUNDAYS AND THE GREAT FESTIVALS, ACCORDING TO SARUM USE,

that, besides its splendours, some other peculiarities of our venerable old ritual, as distinguished from the Roman form, might be witnessed.

Every Sunday, before undern-song or tierce, the priest for that week, and who was about to sing the high mass, went through

The Blessing of Holy Water.

To do this, along with him came, unto the steps between the choir and presbytery, a deacon and

⁶² *Missa pro mortuis in hoc differt à consueta missa, quod (180) sine Gloria, et Alleluia, et pacis osculo celebratur. — Liber Penitentialis, cap. xlv., in Thorpe's Ancient Laws, ii. 51.*

subdeacon, with the gospel-book ; a thurifer with his censer ; the two acolytes with their candles ; a cross-bearer, with his tall staff, having at top a cross, which, in Lent,—the first Sunday excepted,—was of wood painted red, and without our Lord's image to it ; from Easter till Ascension Thursday, of beril, or of rock crystal ; at other seasons, of gold, silver, or copper gilt. Each one of these ministers was clad in an apparelled amice and alb ; besides such a vesture, the priest had on a silken cope ; the boy who held the salt, and afterwards carried the holy water, wore a surplice, as did the other youth, who bore the book or manual.

When he had hallowed the water and the salt, and had mingled them together,—the ceremonies and prayers for which were the same as among the Anglo-Saxons, and in the present Roman ordinal,—the priest went up to the high altar, and sprinkled it all about. While coming down (181) again, he sprinkled his above-named attendants ; and, as soon as he had got back to the steps, all the clergy, the highest first, came, each as he went past to be sprinkled with holy water by the celebrant, who afterwards sprinkled such lay folks as happened to be standing in the presbytery. This done, he said the versicle, *Ostende nobis*, and the prayer, *Exaudi nos*. If the bishop of the diocese was there, he sprinkled the clergy, who, for this purpose, came up in due order to the episcopal throne ; and, whenever a festival of the higher

class fell upon a Sunday, that morning the water was hallowed, not in the choir, but privately, at some side-altar, and not sprinkled till midday song, or sext, had been chanted. After this, did they alway go round the church with

The Procession,

in which walked, first, the vergers, to make way through the crowd; then came the boys with the holy water; the cross-bearer, followed by the two acolytes abreast, the thurifer, the subdeacon, the deacon, the priest; behind him, the lower canons; then the upper canons, all in their choir array, and though proceeding two and two, yet so wide asunder as to leave a lane, as it were, between them. Whenever he was present, the bishop, in a silk cope, walked the last of all, wearing his mitre, and leaning upon his pastoral staff. This procession, singing all the while, first went out of the presbytery, through its north door, then turning to the right, walked all round it, and going down the south aisle, as far as the baptismal font, nigh the south porch, thence passed over into the nave, up which it marched till it reached the choir's great or western gates, above which always arose the rood, in the loft over what is now called the screen. There they halted, and, drawn up into a body, made a station, during which was (182) said aloud, in English, by the celebrant, the bidding-prayer, in which God's blessings were craved for His

Church in this land, for the king, the archbishops, and bishops, the bishop of the diocese in particular, for the dean: in parish churches, for the parson, for the winning from the Paynim of the holy land, for peace, for the queen and her children, for the souls of the dead,—more especially those who had been, while alive, that church's friends. Whether the bishop was there or not, the celebrant always went at the head of the procession; and upon Sundays that were not holy days as well, sprinkled with holy water each altar which he met upon his road. In obedience to a well-known liturgical principle, the procession, at starting from the north presbytery door, turned to the right,—to the region of warmth, light, and brightness,—so that, while coming back, it might follow the sun's seeming path in the heavens. For like reasons, on occasions of woe or sadness, the usage was to walk the wrong way, to turn to the left, the side of gloom, and cold, and darkness,—to go, not along with, but against, the sun.⁶³

On the high feast days, while prime-song was being chanted, six young clerks brought into the

⁶³ Thus the monks of Winchester (A.D. 1122),—*Nescientes igitur quid eis agendum esset, crucium pedes invertunt sursum, et capita deorsum; et processionem nudis pedibus contra solis cursum et morem ecclesiasticum fecerunt; ut sicut episcopus (Willelmus Wintoniensis) contra decreta canonica victus eis necessaria in ecclesia Deo servientibus abstulit, sic ipsi ecclesiæ contra jus et decreta ecclesiastica deservirent.*—*Annal. Eccl. Winton.*, in Wharton, *Anglia Sac.*, i. 298.

middle of the choir, and strewed upon a carpet spread out to receive them, silk copes enough for all the upper canons, who put (183) them on for the procession. As soon as midday song, or sext, was over, this procession formed, and moved down the middle of the choir, going out by its western or great gates, beneath the rood-loft; then, turning to the right, walked outside the choir, by the processional aisle, and so proceeded on to the cloisters in this order. The vergers went first; then came the youth who had the holy water; after him, three acolytes abreast,⁶⁴ in apparelled amices, albs, and tunicles, bore as many processional crosses; then two acolytes, with their candles, and vested in amices, albs, and tunicles;⁶⁵ two thurifers, in the same garments; the subdeacon in his tunicle, the deacon in his dalmatic, each carrying a gospel-book; then followed the priest, in alb and silk cope; and behind, all the choir,—the boys first, then the lower canons, next the upper canons, in silk copes. Thus was formed the procession every high feast, with the exception that on the less solemn ones, instead of three, two crosses only were borne. On Ascension day and Corpus Christi, banners were carried, and two minor canons, arrayed in silk copes, took on their shoulders a shrine with relics. All the way they went they sang a prose befitting the occasion.

⁶⁴ See Wordsworth, *Salisbury Processions*, 49; *Processionale*, ed. Henderson, 12.

⁶⁵ ii tuniciis pro ceroferariis.—Gutch, *Collect. Curiosa*, ii. 265.

Each parish church copied, as near as it might, the rubrics followed at the cathedral; but it is likely that, instead of keeping within, it always, unless hindered by the weather, went beyond its walls, and walked at least all round its own burial-ground, if it did not even go further, in its processions on the Sunday and the festival.

One part of the canonical penance to be undergone by every public sinner, was to walk barefoot and bareheaded, and but scantily clothed, in the Sunday's procession of his (184) parish church, and afterwards to stand the high mass out at the foot of the rood-loft.⁶⁶

The bidding prayer, which in cathedrals the

⁶⁶ Thus Archbishop Courtney, in Richard II.'s reign, gave the following order respecting three Lollards,—two men and a woman: Eorum quilibet proxima die dominica post reditum suum ad propria, ante processionem ecclesiæ collegiatæ beatæ Mariæ novi operis prædicti ipsi Willelmus et Rogerus camisiis et bracciis, ipsa vero Alicia sola camisia induti, nudis pedibus et capitibus, dictus Willelmus cum imagine sanctæ Catharinæ, præfati vero Rogerus ac Alicia cum imaginibus crucifixi in dextris, et singuli eorum cum singulis cereis ponderis dimidiæ libræ in sinistris procedent, easdem imagines trina vice, in principio processionis hujusmodi, in medio et in fine, ad laudem crucifixi, et memoriam passionis suæ ipsiusque virginis honorem, genuflectendo, devote osculabuntur, et eandem ecclesiam cum processione sic ingressi, coram imagine crucifixi, dum alta missa inibi decantatur, cum imaginibus et cereis prædictis in eorum manibus stabunt . . . et die dominica extunc immediate sequenti, in ecclesia eorum parochiali dictæ villæ stabunt, et facient simili modo. . . . Et quia propter nimium frigus æris et temperiei jam instantis, prædicti poenitentes si tanto tempore nudi starent, corporaliter lædi possent et gravari, rigorem mansuetudine obtemperare volentes, ut post eorum ingressum in ecclesias memoratas dum fuerint in audiendo missas prædictas, vestibus necessariis indui valeant, ita quod nudi pedes et capita licentiam impertimur.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, iii. 211.

celebrant said before the rood, as the procession halted below it, in parish churches, was read after the gospel, out of the pulpit. The holy loaf or bread, too, was hallowed, as we before showed,⁶⁷ in all our parish churches, and afterwards (185) cut up into small pieces, and given to the people, who carried it home.⁶⁸ One among the ecclesiastical censures of those times, was to forbid the holy bread and the kiss of peace to such as lived in open sin.⁶⁹

High Mass, according to the Sarum Rite,

was celebrated with a splendour quite unknown in these our days. After the procession, and while the choir was chanting undern-song, or tierce, the priest and his ministers went into the vestry to put on their sacred garments. If the bishop was going to sing the mass, he had never less than three deacons and three subdeacons, except upon Good Friday, when he had but one each of those ministers. On Whit Sunday and Maundy Thursday he had seven deacons and

⁶⁷ See vol. i. p. 110.

⁶⁸ This usage is glanced at by abbot Benedict, in his work on the miracles of St. Thomas of Canterbury: Vidimus . . . Baldewinum testificantem se septimanis quinque lecto fuisse affixum, nihil aliud quam aquam se toto illo tempore gustasse, Dominicis duntaxat diebus exceptis, in quibus allatum ab ecclesia, ut moris est, panem benedictum quasi pro communione sumebat.—*Mirac. S. Thomæ Cantuar.*, iv. 9 [*R.S.*, lxvii. ii. 188].

⁶⁹ Interdicto eis primo pacis osculo et pane benedicto in ecclesia, &c.—*Constit. S. Edmundi*, in Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 635.

seven subdeacons; upon all other high festivals, he had five of each. For the Sundays during Advent, both deacons and subdeacons wore chasubles like the bishop's or the priest's, but never showed the hands from beneath those vestments, as did the celebrant: hence, as soon as their ministry needed the free use of their arms, their chasubles were either taken off, or rolled up over the shoulder. Besides these ministers at the altar, there were always two, sometimes four, rulers of the choir, in albs (186) and silk copes, with their beautiful and ponderous silver staves in their hands.⁷⁰ As soon as they had begun singing the *Gloria Patri* at the end of the introit, the celebrant, with his long array of attendants, came forth from the vestry, and, on reaching the foot of the altar, knelt down in adoration of the Holy Eucharist, hanging in its golden cup, shrouded beneath a little tent-like veil, just over their heads. Arising from the ground, the celebrant went through the *Confiteor*; and, having said the absolution after it, he kissed the deacon, then the subdeacon, which he always did, except at mass for the dead, and during the last three days of Holy Week. In the meanwhile the acolytes put down their candlesticks and burning tapers upon the altar-steps.

⁷⁰ Among the plate of Cardinal Wolsey was "oone rector cory staffe, of silver and gilt, poiss. ccxxij oz."—Gutch, *Collect. Curiosa*, ii. 322.

The celebrant, attended by the deacon and subdeacon, or, as they were sometimes called, the "gospeller" and "epistoler," now went up to the altar, and, having made his reverence, fumed it all about with incense, and was afterwards himself censured by the deacon. He then kissed the book of the gospels, which the subdeacon had, for that purpose, laid wide open on the middle of the altar. Going with the deacon and subdeacon to the right, or south end of the altar, he read the introit, or "office," which the choir had just sung; and then retracing his steps to the middle of the altar, he heard intoned for him the chant in which he had to give out, which he did, the *Gloria in excelsis*. If the celebrant was a bishop, the precentor—if only a priest, the rulers of the choir—came to the foot of the altar to announce, by singing those words themselves, the tone in which he was afterwards to chant them; (187) having done which, he went to finish saying the rest of that hymn at the south end of the altar. Then he and his ministers walked down to the sedilia, and sat there till the choir had done singing it. When the *Kyrie*, with its proses, happened to be sung, they went thither, and rested until the chanting was over. If the bishop pontificated, he sat, not in one of the sedilia, but in his episcopal seat or throne, and stayed there till the more solemn part of the service. Gervase, the monk of Canterbury, tells

us that, in his time, the archbishop, on all great festivals, used to sit upon his primatial chair, which stood full east of the high altar, and arose eight steps above the pavement.⁷¹ St. Thomas of Canterbury used—and the practice was a very old one—to read to himself out of a prayer-book the while he was thus sitting down, that he might keep his thoughts from wandering.⁷²

These sedilia were sometimes called, even in smaller churches, the “presbytery”; and, in large churches, the whole of the space in that part of the chancel where they stood, was hence known by that same name. On festivals, all the wall behind and about them used to be hung with tapestry; each niche had its own cushion, and all the (188) ground on which the feet of the priest, deacon, and subdeacon rested as they sat there, was spread with carpeting.⁷³

After the introit, there was a little procession,

⁷¹ Supra prædictum murum in circinatione illa retro altare et ex opposito ejus cathedra erat patriarchatus ex uro lapide facta, in qua sedere solebant archiepiscopi de more ecclesiæ in festis præcipuis inter missarum solennia usque ad sacramenti consecrationem, tunc enim ad altare Christi per gradus octo descendebant.—Twysden, ii. 1294 [*R.S.*, lxxiii. i. 13].

⁷² This we learn from one of the many lives of that great and holy man: Dum ministri cantabant, ipse libellum orationum in manu consueverat tenere, ne fieret sine devotione cor orantis tanquam terra sine aqua.—*Anecdota*, &c., 228, ed. Giles, for the Caxton Society.

⁷³ Thus, in the collegiate church of Cobham, Kent, there were: Pannus lineus pictus diversis ymaginibus pro presbyterio, cum iij. pulvinaribus de blodio velvett, et ij. de nigro panno aureo. . . . Item iij. pulvinaria stragulat. pro cotidianis pertin. presbiterio.—Thorpe, *Regist. Roffense*, 240.

of a kind quite unknown at this present time. Both of the acolytes went into the vestry, and soon came out again, bearing along with them,—one, the obley, or bread, for the Eucharist, within a silver-covered dish, and two cruets, with the wine and water,—the other, a basin, with water and a hand-towel. These things they carried, in a slow solemn manner, to the sacarium⁷⁴ or piscina, and left the bread and wine there, upon a little shelf,—often, to this day, found within such hollows, between the sedilia and the east end of the south chancel wall. The dishes set apart for holding the bread are particularly specified in some lists of old church-plate.⁷⁵ Having done this, the two acolytes uplifted their candlesticks, and went and met, at the presbytery door, a third acolyte, (189) who, with his hands muffled in the folds of a silken mantle that hung from about his shoulders, bore the chalice, upon which lay an offertory veil, or scarf, for holding the paten at mass, and a pair of corporals in a corporas case. With the

⁷⁴ Abbot Benet, in his *Life and Miracles of St. Thomas of Canterbury*, speaks of this part of the altar's architectural adjuncts thus: Quod in ampullæ fundo pulveri admixtum invenit, in sacarium altaris projecit.—Benedictus, *Miracula S. Thomæ*, &c., ed. Giles, 65 [R.S., lxvii. ii. 53].

⁷⁵ Thus, at York minster, there were: Una pixis argentea cum scriptura circa eandem Eligæ de optimis, pro pane portandum diebus ferialibus, ponderis decem unciarum et dimid. Item una pixis argentea deaurata cum rotundo nodo pro pane portando ad summum altare in festis duplicatis, ponderans unam libram.—Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1205.

two burning tapers carried before him, this acolyte solemnly walked unto the sacrarium,—that is, piscina,—where he left the chalice, but carried the corporals up to the altar, kissing, before he left, the holy table. In the mean time, the other two acolytes went and set down their candles upon the altar-steps again. For ordinary Sundays, and holy days of the second order, all these three acolytes were vested in amices and albs; for the high festivals, over those garments they wore each a tunicle of rich embroidered silk, corresponding in colour to the day.

From the pulpit on the south side of the choir was it that in St. Osmund's days the subdeacon chanted the epistle: when the old ambones fell into disuse this was done, in small churches, much nigher the altar, close to the sedilia, where the book with the epistles was rested upon a lectern, which folded, and so light that it could be easily carried about: over it was always cast a pall or covering of some rich stuff, or cloth shot with gold, and answering in colour to the vestments.⁷⁶ Having ended the epistle the subdeacon went⁷⁷ to the sacrarium, where the aco-

⁷⁶ j pannus rubeus aureus pro lectrino cum ij blodiiis pertin. eidem.—Thorpe, *Regist. Roffense*, 240.

⁷⁷ In St. Osmund's time, the usage, at least at Canterbury cathedral, was for the subdeacon to go, if a bishop was the celebrant, and kiss his feet. In telling a dream that he had, as he lay ill in bed, one of Lanfranc's chaplains says: Videbam in visione beatum Dunstanum, solemnes in ecclesia Salvatoris missas agentem, meque illi in ministerio subdiaconatus servientem. Cumque

lytes (190) awaited him, and held the basin and towel as he washed his hands before he took the obley or bread out of its little silver box or dish and put it upon the paten; and poured first the wine, then a very few drops of water into the chalice.

To sing the *Alleluia* after the gradual, two upper canons, arrayed in silken copes, were led by the rulers of the choir into the southern ambo; and two young clerks went into the north ambo, and over the eagle, upon which the *evangeliarium* or book with the different portions of the gospels for the year was to lie open, cast a splendid pall or hanging. At the *Alleluia*, and just before the choir began to sing the prose or sequence, the deacon, having washed his hands, went up and set out the corporals upon the altar and afterwards fumed it all about with incense; then taking up the *textus* or book of all the four gospels which had been lying there from the beginning of mass, he bent himself before the celebrant and got his blessing. Accompanied by a certain number of attendants did he go thence down the middle of the choir to the pulpit:⁷⁸ the two acolytes, with their lighted tapers, headed this procession; after them fol-

perlecta a me fuisset epistola, ad pedes illius ex more deosculandos accessi, benedictionem petii, et ita cum ejus benedictione recedens convalui.—Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, in *A.A. SS. Maii*, iv. 381 [*R.S.*, lxiii. 153].

⁷⁸ Of the pulpit, as it was called, we shall speak further on.

lowed the thurifer; next the subdeacon, carrying the book with the gospels for the year, and out of which the deacon was about to chant the gospel for that day; last of all came the deacon himself, reverently bearing the *textus* or gospel-book athwart his breast and leant upon his left arm. Every one arose to the procession as it came forwards. When they had reached the pulpit, the subdeacon put the book, with the gospels open at the gospel for that day, upon the (191) eagle; and took from the deacon the *textus* or gospel-book. This *textus* the subdeacon held in both his hands, and leaning upright upon his breast. When the *Gloria tibi Domine* was being sung, each one signed himself with the cross, bowing the while towards the altar, and then turned about to the pulpit to hear the gospel. All the time the deacon was going through it, the subdeacon, with the *textus*, stood at his left side; when the deacon had finished chanting, the subdeacon went round to his right, and stretched out to him the *textus* or gospel-book to be kissed. This procession then went back in the same array, but the subdeacon, and not as before the deacon, bore the *textus*, which he did in a way different from the deacon's, carrying it, as he did in the pulpit, not across, but straight-wise upon his breast. At a later period the custom was to have permanently set up on the north side of the presbytery or chancel, a large

tall beautifully-wrought lectern, made of brass, with the book-desk itself shaped like an eagle spreading out its wings. Such an one stood once in Durham cathedral, "with a gilt pellican on the height of it finely gilded, pullinge hir bloud out hir breast to hir young ones, and winges spread abroad. It was thought to bee the goodlyest letteron of brasse that was in all this countrye."⁷⁹ Moveable, though much smaller lecterns, were fashioned after somewhat the same manner, as can be seen in our picture (vol. ii. p. 392). In Chipping Warden Church they contrived, for the singing of the gospel at high mass, a curious stone lectern, still there: it stands out of the wall on the north side of the chancel, and rests upon a bracket of a man's head crowned; on the topmost part runs a sunken moulding purfled with flowers.

Not until the celebrant had entoned the *Credo* was he (192) censed by the deacon, and had brought to him by the subdeacon the *textus* to be kissed.⁸⁰ The liturgical student should note how two distinct codices were here employed; one, with the whole of the four gospels all at full length, and called the *textus*; the other, with merely those parts or "gospels" read at some time or another through the year at mass. The book of the gospels, or

⁷⁹ *Ancient Monuments, &c., of Durham*, 11.

⁸⁰ Honorius of Autun (A.D. 1130) says of this rite: *Liber Evangelii infra Credo in unum osculatur, quia pax per Christum reddita declaratur.*—*Gemma Animæ*, i. 119 [Hittorp, 1214].

textus, had, in general, a binding of solid gold, studded with gems, and especially pearls, and was used for being kissed; the other, the gospel-book, which served for reading out of, was often as richly adorned. Followed by the subdeacon with the book of the gospels, the thurifer went down into the choir and there censed the canons, each of whom kissed that *textus* which the subdeacon, immediately after the incensing, held up to his lips for the purpose. The creed was sung by all the choir together, in signification of one unbroken belief throughout God's true church.

In parochial service, after the gospel, the bidding prayer was said, and the sermon preached. As soon as the *Credo* was done, the offering, if the day happened to be one of those upon which it had to be given, was made by all the people, each of whom walked up to the foot of the altar to leave their gift, or, as it used to be called, "the mass-penny," in the basin held by a clerk, or upon the celebrant's own hand, covered with the broad end of his stole.

After the *Credo*, from the third acolyte, who stood at the sacrarium, the paten with the obley on it first, then the chalice with the wine and a few drops of water, went up through the subdeacon's and deacon's into the (193) celebrant's hands, which the deacon kissed both times. When the obley and the chalice had been duly placed upon the corporal, they were fumed in proper form with

incense by the priest, who afterwards washed his hands with the help of the subdeacon and other ministers, while the deacon was censuring the north end of the altar, the shrine, and what relics lay around the presbytery. The deacon then put himself on his own or middle step, behind the priest, who faced the centre of the altar, the subdeacon, in like manner, on the lowest of those three steps leading up to the holy table. From this ritual observance of position, the middle step soon came to be known as the deacon's; the third, or bottom one, as the subdeacon's step; and the sedilia were, not unoften, accordingly so arranged that the first, the priest's, was the highest seat; the second, the deacon's, higher than the last, the subdeacon's. Whenever the celebrant had to turn about and salute the people, the deacon and subdeacon likewise turned themselves along with him; but to the latter of these ministers particularly belonged the duty of watching that the priest's chasuble was no hindrance to the outstretching of his hands whenever he had to upraise them.⁸¹ If the bishop pontificated, his seven deacons all stood in a line upon the deacon's step, and the seven subdeacons, in like manner, on the subdeacon's. The principal deacon, and subdeacon, each occupied the middle place of his respective row. Both grades followed the movements of its own chief; but to

⁸¹ *Use of Sarum*, xxxix. (92) vol. i. 67.

the head subdeacon was it reserved to minister unto the bishop and settle the folds of his wide majestic chasuble about his arms as that prelate turned himself round to salute the people.

When the celebrant began the *Per omnia sæcula* before (194) the preface, the deacon took from off the altar the paten and offertory-cloth, and handed them to the subdeacon: he wrapped up the paten in that thin silken towel, and gave it, so shrouded, to the third acolyte, who held it up before his face till the *Pater Noster*, standing the while behind the subdeacon. This offertory-cloth was not as now cast about the shoulders of the "patener," for so he was called, but folded round the paten itself, with both its ends falling loose upon the bearer's wrists, as may be seen in the picture at p. 175 of this volume. At the same part of the mass was it, that, for many years after St. Osmund's time, the deacon used to take into his hands the liturgical fan, and with it keep away the flies from the host after consecration. Here too both the acolytes left the burning tapers to stand upon the ground nigh the altar, and retired themselves into the choir, till just before the *pax* was given, when they went and waited on the deacon, as he washed his hands, in the same way as in the Anglo-Saxon ritual. Immediately, also, before the *pax*, the bishop, if he it was who celebrated, bestowed his benediction after a very solemn manner. Having had brought to him, by its bearer, the pastoral staff, and hold-

ing it with its crook towards himself, the deacon cried out in a loud voice, "Bow yourselves down for the blessing." The bishop turned about, and taking in his left hand this staff, so that its crook might point outwards to the people, he read the blessing-prayers for that day, made with his right hand the sign of the cross over his flock there present, and so gave his episcopal benediction after the self-same way that his forerunners, the Anglo-Saxon bishops, bestowed it in their times. What the precise words were for each Sunday and festival, may be seen in the Benedictional, sent forth, after revision, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Peckham,⁸² A.D. 1279-1292. By such a (195) blessing was granted to the worthy receiver an indulgence, or pardon, of forty days.⁸³ If the Archbishop happened to be at church, he gave his blessing as well as the celebrating prelate, but at the end of mass.⁸⁴ This rite of giving the pontifical blessing just before the *Agnus Dei* lasted in

⁸² *Exeter Pontifical*, 152-208.

⁸³ Reginald of Durham, speaking of a high mass sung by the bishop in that cathedral one Whit Sunday, says:—*Siquidem et ibi pontificale benedictionis absolutio, et quadragenaria dierum pœnitentiæ indulta remissio, &c.*—*De Adm. S. Cuthberhti Virt.*, 202.

⁸⁴ Thus of the opening of the synod held in London (A.D. 1309) we read:—*episcopus Norwicensis, astante archiepiscopo in sede pontificale London. episcopi, episcopis vero et aliis prælatis juxta magnum altare commorantibus in ecclesia S. Pauli, missam de Spiritu Sancto solenniter celebravit ad magnum altare. In fine vero missæ, ante Agnus Dei, prædictus episcopus Norwyc. de præcepto et licentia speciali Cantuar. archiepiscopi solennem benedictionem super populum fecit. Expleta missa archiepiscopus benedictionem populo dedit.*—Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii. 312.

England as long as the use of Sarum was followed ; and is thus noticed in the " Device for the coronation of Henry VII. " :—The masse this wise to be said unto the tyme the cardinall have song thise words, *Per omnia secula seculorum*, next afore *Agnus* ; which songen, the cardynall, pontifically arraied, shall turne hym to the kyng and to the peple, blessing them, with thise orisons, *Omni-potens Deus carismatum* ; that endid, and the quere answeyng *Amen*, *Agnus Dei* shal be songen, &c.⁸⁵

To have the kiss of peace from the celebrant, the deacon and subdeacon went up and stood both of them at his (196) right hand, the deacon next the priest, and the subdeacon next the deacon. Having got this so-called kiss, the deacon gave it first to the subdeacon, and then going down to the further end of the presbytery, took it unto the two chief rulers of the choir who were waiting there. They, in their turn, carried each to his own side of the stalls. In the meanwhile, the subdeacon brought the pax-brede to the celebrant, who bestowed upon it the kiss that was afterwards to be taken to the people. At the high mass, at which our kings were crowned, " the chieff bisshopp, that afor bare the gospell boke to the king and the quene, shal bring the pax unto them, and when the king and quene have kissed it," &c.⁸⁵ Among the clergy a kind of half embrace no doubt was, as it yet is, the

⁸⁵ *Rutland Papers*, 22.

method for expressing the conveyance of this kiss of peace; but among the people, the pax-brede of which we have just now spoken, was carried about and really kissed by each individual.

After the priest had received the holy communion, and washed his hands, the deacon folded up the two corporals, and put them into their case,⁸⁶ which he laid, together with the offertory-cloth and paten, upon the chalice. This sacred vessel he gave into the hands of the third acolyte, or patener, who, with a solemnity like that in which he had brought it out of the vestry, carried it back thither. After the *Ite, missa est*, all went away in the same order they had followed while coming to the altar, and thus ended the high mass.

(197) In his comparison of the two forms of liturgy, the reader will have found that the difference between the Anglo-Saxon and the Salisbury ritual for the celebration of mass, was very small. As, however, in both uses, there were some few things which are no longer to be seen in any part of Latin Christendom, it may not be amiss to say here a word or two upon them. Of these

⁸⁶ In the Royal Chapel there was "a corporace case of golde, garnysed with ij course saphures, twoo course balaces, and x course perles, weyinge clxix oz. di."—Palgrave, *Ancient Kalendars and Inventories*, &c., ii. 275.

The Fan

is not the least curious. That such a liturgical appliance was employed among the Anglo-Saxons, there can be but little doubt, since, in their times, its use was general throughout the rest of western Europe, at the holy sacrifice. In summer-time, one part of the deacon's office, at high mass, was to carry in his hand a fan, and with it drive away any flies that might come to hover about the holy sacrifice, or teased, by their creeping upon, the person of the celebrant.

In the oriental liturgies, the use of the fan may not only be traced down to the earliest antiquity, but be still witnessed, as it is yet kept up in all of them. At his ordination the Greek deacon has given him, to this day, the ἅγιον ῥιπίδιον, or holy fan,⁸⁷ which is made in the likeness of a cherub's winged face, as may be seen from our woodcut. The form of fan, with a hoop of little bells, is employed by the Maronites and other orientals, and is generally wrought of silver or brass. The third is the head of one of those two fans, composed of ostrich and peacock feathers, and carried upon long staves on each side the pope whenever he goes in state, borne seated on a throne aloft on men's shoulders to and from the altar on high festivals.

⁸⁷ Morin., *De Ordinationibus*, 69, 217.

(198) Among the sacred ornaments found belonging to the church of St. Riquier-en-Ponthieu, A.D. 813, occurs "flabellum argenteum j";⁸⁸ and



in the chapel of Everard, a nobleman, who began the monastery of Cisoin, near Lisle (A.D. 937), was there also a silver fan.⁸⁹ When Martene wrote his valuable *Voyage Littéraire*, A.D. 1777, the church of Tournus could show an old fan: it had an ivory handle some two feet long and beautifully carved, and upon the two sides of the head were graven several saints' figures, and all about ran the following among other verses :—

⁸⁸ *Chron. Centul.*, iii. 3 [*P.L.*, clxxiv. 1257].

⁸⁹ See vol. ii. 102 of this work.

- Virgo parens Christi voto celebraris eodem.
 Hic coleris pariter, tu Philiberte sacer.
 (199) Sunt duo quæ modicum confert æstate flabellum,
 Infestas abicit muscas et mitigat æstum.
 Hoc decus eximium, pulchro moderamine gestum
 Concedet in sacro semper adesse loco :

upon one of the knobs in the handle was this line :—

Johel me sanctæ fecit in honore Mariæ.

At a Dominican convent in the diocese of Toulouse, Martene saw just such another liturgical fan.⁹⁰

The ritual purposes of this sacred appliance are often set forth either directly by the rubrics followed during those times, or glanced at indirectly by writers who make a symbolic reference to it. Thus, in the Cluniac customs (A.D. 1110), it was laid down that the fan-bearer is to keep off the flies from the celebrant, the altar, and the sacrifice.⁹¹ In getting ready what was wanted for high mass, the clerks of the pope's chapel were warned by the "Ordo Romanus," drawn up, as it would seem, by cardinal Gaetano (c. A.D. 1298), not to forget this fan⁹²: and the deacon's office was to stand by the pope and drive the flies away from him⁹³: this service was

⁹⁰ *Voy. Litt.*, i. 231, 232.

⁹¹ Unus autem ministrorum stans cum flabello prope sacerdotem, ex quo muscarum infestatio exurgere incipit donec finiatur, eas arcere a sacrificio et ab altari seu ab ipso sacerdote non negligit.—*Antiq. Consuet.*, ii. 30 [*P.L.*, cxlix. 719].

⁹² Deferant quoque æstivo tempore flabella ad abigendum muscas a ministerio.—Ed. Mabillon, *Mus. Italic.*, ii. 289.

⁹³ Stans juxta pontificem, et flabellum tenens abigat ab eo muscas.—*Ibid.*, 297. Gori observed (*Thes. Diptych.*, iii. 164), that

sometimes done by a lower clerk in his place.⁹⁴ Along with his gift to the Archbishop of Canterbury, of one of these fans, the Bishop of Le Mans, Hildebert, sent a letter, in which, speaking of its symbolism, he compares the driving away of the flies to the banishing of temptation.⁹⁵ Our own Herbert de Bosham, in the same bent of thought, makes a similar reference to the emblematic fan.⁹⁶

Our John Garland, of whom we have spoken before (vol. i. pp. 303, 304), in his chapter, *De ornatis ecclesiæ*, says: *Nec careat ecclesia acerra et flabello, &c.*; and, in fact, none of our churches, nor even our chantries, were ever, at one period, wanting in such an instrument, for we find it always set down among those articles which be-

among those sacred instruments figured on the spandrels of the arches in the nave of St. Sabina's church, at Rome, the fan is to be seen.

⁹⁴ *Juxta ipsum diaconum stare potest in parte dextra is qui mitram servat; et, si tempus requirit, teneat flabellum—(200) ad abigendum muscas.—Mabillon, Mus. Ital., 303.*

⁹⁵ *Flabellum tibi misi, congruum scilicet propulsandis muscis instrumentum. . . . Dum igitur destinato tibi flabello descendentes super sacrificia muscas abegeris, a sacrificantis mente supervenientium incursus tentationum.—Hildebert, Epist., i. 2 [P.L., clxxi. 143].*

⁹⁶ *Et ibi præsertim, ubi sacerdotii exhibent (sacerdotes Christi) officium et sacrificii peragunt ritum. Ea hora potissimum quotidie vagas has et vanas fluxas et fluidas, fluentes et refluxas cogitationes immittens quæ tanquam muscæ tabidæ in tam suave olenti sacrificio totum perdant mox tantæ suavitatis odorem; hora præsertim sacrificii glomoratim irruentes, nisi confestim per sacrificii ostiarum fidam circumspectam videlicet devotionem, et promptam Spiritus Sancti flabello repellantur.—Opp. ed. Giles, i. 51. Durand makes the same remark, Rationale, &c., lib. iv. cap. xxxv. 153.*

longed, in the thirteenth century, and even later, to the altars in small places, not to speak of our great cathedrals. The inventory taken (A.D. 1222) of the ornaments at Salisbury, enumerates the "flauellum vnum argenteum," besides the "duo flabella de fusto et pargameno"; and, for the service at the smaller altars, there seems to have been provided a (201) fan. Thus St. Peter's altar, in the same church, had, among its other particular appurtenances, "flabellum unum"; so had that of All Hallows.⁹⁷ The fan in St. Faith's, in the undercroft, or "croudes," of St. Paul's cathedral, London, was made of peacock's feathers, "unum muscatorium de pennis pavonum."⁹⁸ York cathedral's inventory mentions "unum manubrium flabelli argenteum deauratum ex ejusdem (magistri Johannis Newton) thesaurarii, cum ymagine episcopi in fine enamelyd, ponderis quinque unciarum";⁹⁹ and Hamo, Bishop of Rochester, gave to his church (A.D. 1346) "unum flabellum de serico cum virga eburnea."¹ The shape of this liturgical ornament, and how the deacon held it at mass, are well seen in those three instances from illuminated manuscripts, which form the subject of our picture at p. 175.

More interesting still is the way in which-

⁹⁷ Wordsworth, *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions*, 170, 177 180.

⁹⁸ Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 336.

⁹⁹ *Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1205.

¹ Thorpe, *Regist. Roffense*, 554.

*The Eucharist used to be kept hanging up over
the High Altar,*

in every church throughout this land, from the earliest times to the very latest hour of Henry VIII.'s sad reign. If we had nothing more than the instructions given for the first acts of worship to be made on going into church, we should see that the custom was to have, even in small chapels, the Blessed Sacrament hanging up. Thus, in his "Rule for Nuns," written about the middle of the thirteenth century, by Simon de Ghent, afterwards [A.D. 1297-1315] bishop of Salisbury, he tells them, in the English of the time, but the spelling of which we have somewhat changed:—(202) "Sprinkleth you with holy-water, that ye shoulen ever have with you, and thinketh o Godes flesh and on his blod, that is over the high altar (heie weovede), and falleth each one theretoward with this greeting: *Ave, principium nostræ creationis. Ave, precium nostræ redemptionis. Ave, viaticum nostræ peregrinationis. Ave, premium nostræ expectationis. Tu esto nostrum gaudium, &c.*"²

Of such a ritual practice, and of the golden doves employed for it, in other parts of Christendom, both east and west, we have already spoken in another work.

² *The Ancrer Riwle*, 16 (C. S. 1853); Cotton MS., Nero, A. xiv. fol. 4.

In the history of our own country and our kings, may we find illustrations as curious as they are interesting, of this liturgical usage, as it was observed here after the fall of Anglo-Saxon rule. While Stephen was hearing mass, one Candlemas day, at Lincoln [1141], the chain by which the Eucharist hung above the altar, snapped in two, and the pix fell down.³ Henry II.'s eldest son, when warring against his own sire, broke into a monastery, and had the wickedness to steal the very golden dove for the Eucharist, which his father had given to that church.⁴

Though abroad, the vessel for holding the pix, with the adorable Eucharist, was fashioned like a dove, here, in England, it (203) seems to have oftener been a cup, which was either of gold, silver, ivory, or of copper gilt, and enamelled;⁵ and around it hung a narrow corona, or hoop, often of silver or gold, and gemmed with precious stones.⁶ Salisbury, however, had its silver dove

³ Cum autem de more cereum rege dignum Deo offerens (rex Stephanus) manibus Alexandri episcopi imponeret, contractus est. Hoc fuit regi signum contritionis. Cecidit etiam super altare pixis, cui Corpus Domini inerat, abrupto vinculo, præsentē episcopo. —Roger Hoveden, *Chron.*, ed. Savile, fol. 278 [*R.S.*, li. i. 201].

⁴ Interim rex puer de cœnobio Grandimontensi thesaurum violenter accepit, et quod auditu horrendum est, non pepercit columbæ aureæ in qua Dominicum corpus habebatur, quam pater ejus dederat olim.—*AA. SS. Junii*, v. 571.

⁵ Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 666.

⁶ In his lives of the abbots of St. Alban's, Matthew Paris tells that one of them, Robert, who died A.D. 1166,—Eucharistiam vase pretioso et corona argentea collocavit [*R.S.*, xxviii., *Gesta Abbat.*, i. 179]; and how another, Simon,—Fecit præterea per manum

for the Eucharist.⁷ As the reader may have noticed, there generally were two vessels: the smaller one, or the pix, that held the particles of the blessed Eucharist; the larger cup, or dove, within which the other was shut up.

Afterwards, as it would seem, rich silken stuffs got to be cast about the chains of the corona, and thus formed what used to be called the canopy of the pix. That (204) cone-like tabernacle, hanging just over the altar, may be seen in one of the Peterborough seals,⁸ and in the frontispiece to our second volume, but is still better shown in the woodcut opposite, taken though it be from a very late example. Of this canopy, mention is often made in our old documents. In some of our small country churches, the custom once was to keep, as the Greeks still do, the blessed Sacrament in a little flat purse, or pocket.

ejusdem Baldewyni (aurifabri) unum vasculum speciali admiratione dignum, ex auro obryzo et fulvo, adaptatis et decenter collocatis in ipso gemmis impretiabilibus diversi generis, in quo etiam "Materiam superabat opus,"—ad reponendam Eucharistiam, supra majus altare Martyris suspendendum. Quod cum Regi Henrico Secundo innotuit, unam cuppam nobilissimam ac pretiosissimam, in qua reponeretur et ipsa theca immediate continens Corpus Christi, Ecclesiæ Sancti Albani gratanter ac devote transmisit [*R.S., ibid.*, 190]. A like gift was made to Peterborough by one of its abbots, Godfrey de Croyland, c. A.D. 1299: Dedit etiam magno altari unam coupam de argento et deauratam, cum tribus argenteis cathenis et circulo argenteo et deaurato, et intro capulam argenteam et deauratam pro corpore Christi reponendo.—Sparke, *Hist.*, 170.

⁷ Corona una argentea cum cathenis iij argent. cum columba argent. ad eukaristiam.—Wordsworth, *Salisb. Cerem.*, 171.

⁸ *Mon. Angl.*, plate v. of seals, fig. 1.

At the visitation (A.D. 1220) of the church of Hill Deverell, in the diocese of Salisbury, William, the dean of that cathedral, reported that this was being done.⁹ To forbid such a practice was it, no doubt, that Archbishop John Peckham sent



St. Martin saying Mass. (Taken from the tapestry of Montpezat)

forth (A.D. 1280) his constitution: *De Eucharistia* (205) *custodienda*, ordering the use of a pyx lined with linen and covered with a rich covering.¹⁰

⁹ Non est ibi pixis continens Eucharistiam, sed deponitur Eucharistia in quadam bursa serica.—*Osmund Reg.* (R.S.), i. 312.

¹⁰ Dignissimum Eucharistiæ sacramentum præcipimus de cætero taliter custodiri, ut videlicet in bursa vel loculo propter comminutionis periculum nullatenus collocetur, sed in pixide pulcherrima intrinsecus lino candidissimo adornata, in qua ipsum corpus Domini repositum in aliquo cooperticulo de serico, purpura, vel lino purissimo operiri præcipimus, ita quod sine comminutionis periculo possit inde faciliter extrahi et apponi.—*Wilkins, Concil.*, ii. 48.

A year afterwards, the same archbishop decreed that each church should have a tabernacle to hold the pyx under lock and key.¹¹ How the whole of such a sacred appliance was made, may be well seen in the following description of the splendid one which belonged (A.D. 1385) to St. George's chapel, Windsor. It was made of ivory with silver-gilt ornaments, and cover garnished with jewels and surmounted by a crucifix.¹² Besides this, the royal chapel had a copper pyx with two canopies.¹³ Those silken hoods thrown upon the chains of the *corona*, or hoop, so as to form the tabernacle of which Archbishop Peckham speaks, and that was afterwards called the canopy, used, it seems, to be changed, according to the season.¹⁴ But over the cup itself was cast the Sacrament cloth, or piece of thin, cloud-like muslin,—*pannus*

¹¹ Ut in qualibet ecclesia parochiali fiat tabernaculum cum clausura decens et honestum, secundum curæ magnitudinem et ecclesiæ facultates, in quo ipsum corpus Domini in pyxide pulcherrima et lineis tegumentis . . . collocetur.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii. 48.

¹² Una pixis nobilis eburnea, garnita cum laminibus argenteis deauratis, cum pede pleno leopardis et lapidibus pretiosis; habens coopertorium argenteum deauratum cum bordura de saphyris, in cujus summitate stat figura crucifixi cum Maria et Johanne, garnita cum perlis; cum tribus cathenis in pomello argenteo deaurato; et una longa cathena argentea, per quam dependet, et extat longitudinis trium virgarum.—*Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1365.

¹³ Una pixis de cupro pro corpore Christi imponendo cum cathena de eadem secta cum duabus canapis, viz. majore et minore.—*Ibid.*

¹⁴ This is shown, not only from the mention last (206) made of two canopies, but in the notice of the same ornaments for the collegiate church at Cobham, Kent: Item ij. panni seric. palliat. pro canopeo, cum ij. pannis nebulatis pertin. eidem.—Thorpe, *Regist. Roffense*, 240.

nebulatus,—as this woodcut, from an illumination in the manuscript life of St. Edmund, martyr, lets us see.¹⁵ This sacrament-cloth used to be wrought with beautiful needlework, as we learn from the *Ancient Monuments, Rites, and Customs of the Church of Durham*: for “within the said quire, over the high altar, did hang a rich and most sumptuous CANAPIE, for the BLESSED SACRAMENT to hang within it, which had two irons fastened in the French peere, very finely gilt, which held the canapie over the midst of the said high altar (that the pix did hang in it, that it could not move nor stir), whereon did stand a PELICCAN, all of silver, uppon the height of the said canopie, verye finely gilded, givinge hir blood to hir younge ones, in token that Christ did give his blood for the sinns of the world; and it was goodly to behould, for the blessed Sacrament to hange in; and a marveilous faire PIX, that the holy Sacrament did hange in, which was of most pure, fine gold, most curiously wrought of goldsmith work. And the white cloth that hung over the pix was of very fine lawne, all embroydered and wrought about with gold and (207) red silke, and



¹⁵ Brit. Mus. Harl. MS., 2278, f. 55ʳ.

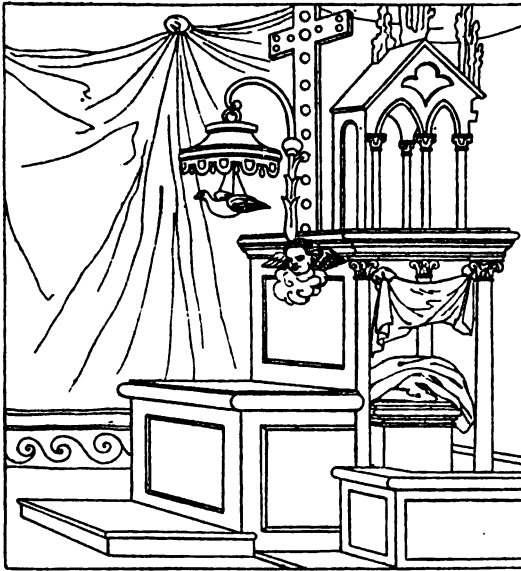
four great and round knopes of gold, marvelous and cunningly wrought, with great tassells of gold and redd silke hanginge at them, and at the four corners of the white lawne cloth; and the crooke that hung within the cloth that the pix did hang on, was of gold; and the cords that did draw it upp and downe, was made of fine white, strong silke."¹⁶ Among other things bought (A.D. 1486) for a church, were: "A pyx clothe for the hight aulter, of sipers frenged with golde, with knoppes of golde, and sylke of Spayneshe makyng." "A canape for the pyx, of whyte baudekyn."¹⁷

How from out the reredos of the Durham high altar sprang the iron branch with the canopy and pix, may be seen in the woodcut opposite, after an engraving in *L'Histoire de* (208) *l'abbaye de Saint Denys*, which shows us the method by which, until barely sixty years ago, the Blessed Sacrament used to be kept hanging over the altars of France. There was a something sublime in the idea of such a very old ritual observance; for while it told that Christ is always coming down from above, to dwell upon his altars, and among men, it said how the earth was not worthy of being touched by such a heavenly gift. Better able to call unto itself the eye and heart of the worshipper, than our present tabernacles, were

¹⁶ *Rites of Durham*, 7.

¹⁷ *Illustrations, &c.*, 114.

this old usage helped by our modern contrivances and mechanism, it might be brought back again most advantageously, and made to hinder some, at least, of those horrible profanations perpetrated against the Holy of Holies in the Eucharist ; for hardly does a year go by, but we are pained at hearing that a tabernacle has been broken open



by thieves, in some part or other of this country. The canopy, with the pix, could be hung so high as to be far above reach ; and the hidden chain, which let it down, so linked with a bell outside the church, that it might ring each time it was drawn up or down.

The first wooden or stone tabernacle resting on
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the altar, seen in this land, was put up in Queen Mary's reign.¹⁸

About St. Osmund's time,—perhaps even somewhat earlier,—some few changes took place in our old Anglo-Saxon ritual architecture, and

A new way of building the Altar and Choir

was followed. The ciborium, or dome, just over the holy table ceased to overshadow it; but its two eastern columns were left, and across them ran a broad thick beam for saints' images and relics to stand upon: immediately from the altar-table itself, and beneath the beam, arose the crucifix. The bishop's chair was still left in its high place; in cathedrals, some way from, and to the east of, (209) the altar.¹⁹ In smaller churches, it was upon this "beam" that the crucifix between St. Mary and St. John was fixed; and there, too, were put the holy water,

¹⁸ [For the elaborate tabernacle which survives at Milton Abbas see *S. Paul's Eccles. Soc. Trans.*, iv. 80.]

¹⁹ In his description of the choir at Canterbury as rebuilt by Prior Conrade, full thirty years after St. Osmund's death, Gervase says: *Ad cornua altaris orientalia erant duæ columpnæ lignæ auro et argento decenter ornatæ, quæ trabem magnam sustentabant, cujus trabis capita duorum pilariorum capitellis insidebant. Quæ per transversum ecclesiæ desuper altare trajecta, auro decorata, majestatem Domini, imaginem Sancti Dunstani et Sancti Ælfeigi, septem quoque scrinia auro et argento cooperta, et multorum sanctorum reliquiis referta sustentabat. Inter columpnas crux stabat deaurata . . . in medio chori dependebat corona deaurata, viginti quatuor sustinens cereos.* This gilt corona, with its four-and-twenty wax lights, hanging down, in the middle of the choir, must have been beautiful.—Twysden, ii. 1295 [*R.S.*, lxxiii. i. 13].

the box with the altar breads, the wine and water, with other things required for divine service.²⁰ Of the "beam" itself, and the difference between it and the "perch," we have already spoken;²¹ and an example of it is shown in the illumination of the high altar in the church of St. Austin's abbey, given in vol. iii. p. 316. Upon this "beam" there stood, at Salisbury, six lights. At that cathedral, too, a corona for lights hung (210) down in the presbytery; there was a seven-branched bronze candlestick standing on the pavement, as at Canterbury,²² and upon the pulpit wall four tapers burned on high feasts. Only two lights seem ever to have been placed upon the altar itself, though for holy days many were put about and near to it.

With regard to the choir, the walls which shut it in were left about seven feet high;²³ and those

²⁰ This we gather from various passages in the life of the ankerite, St. Godric, by Reginald, who in one place tells us: *Postea cum aqua urceolum, et deinde quicquid supra lignum steterat, quo de more infixum fuerat crucis sacrosanctæ vexillum . . . et lignum in quo crux infixæ fuerat cum omni suppellectili reliquo, ex ulterutro pariete evulsit, &c.*—*Vita*, 94.

²¹ Vol. iii. pp. 388, 389.

²² Among the beautiful things which Conrade, chosen prior of Christchurch, A.D. 1108, bestowed upon that primatial church, was: *Candelabrum miræ magnitudinis de aurichalco fabricatum, habens tres hinc et tres inde ramos ex medio proprio prodeuntes stipite unde septem recipit cereos.*—*Anglia Sacra*, i. 137.

²³ They could have been no higher, for at Canterbury the primatial throne, which rested on the top of the marble skirting about the choir and presbytery, was ascended from the floor whereon the altar stood, by a flight of eight steps; a flight of three steps led from the choir to the presbytery; and another, of the same number, from the presbytery to the pavement about

two ambones (211) that had hitherto stood,—one on the north side, for the singing of the gospel, the other on the south, for the epistle,—were carried down, and thrown into one low kind of lobby, which served for those same ritual purposes, the while it made the western bound of the choir, with a doorway through the middle, into the nave below. This new erection, which brought together two old appliances that had for ages stood so wide asunder, soon got called the pulpit. Above it, like as at the altar, went a great beam, from out the centre of which, and over the doorway, arose a tall crucifix, besides other images; and beneath, within the pulpit itself, often was there a small altar of the holy cross.²⁴ The eagle-shaped lectern for the *evange-*

the altar: Ad bases pilariorum murus erat tabulis marmoreis compositus, qui, chorum cingens et presbiterium, corpus ecclesiæ a suis lateribus quæ alæ vocantur dividebat. Continebat hic murus monachorum chorum, presbiterium, altare magnum in nomine Jesu Christi dedicatum, altare Sancti Dunstani, et altare sancti Ælfege cum sanctis eorum corporibus. Supra prædictum murum in circinatione illa retro altare et ex opposito ejus cathedra erat patriarchatus ex uno lapide facta, in qua sedere solebant archiepiscopi . . . tunc enim ad altare Christi per gradus octo descendebant. De choro ad presbiterium tres erant gradus. De pavimento presbiterii usque ad altare gradus tres. Ad sedem vero patriarchatus gradus octo. (Gervase, *Chron.*, ed. Twysden, ii. 1294) [*R.S.*, lxxiii. i. 13]. Allowing six inches in height to each of these fourteen steps between the level of the choir and the foot of the throne, we shall find that this wall must have been seven feet high.

²⁴ Turris ergo in medio ecclesiæ maximis subnixa pilariis posita est . . . pulpitum vero turrem prædictam a navi quodammodo separabat, et ex parte navis in medio sui altare Sanctæ Crucis habebat. Supra pulpitum trabes erat, per transversum ecclesiæ

liarium stood in the northern division of this pulpit; and hither came, from the altar, that solemn procession for the singing of the gospel at high mass. As the choir's enclosure uplifted itself on high, so did the pulpit, till at last it grew up into that comely feature of our old church-building, which, in our cathedrals, is known as the "screen," but in parish churches, the "roof-loft."

The Service-books after Sarum Use,

were the same in their contents as those required in the (212) Anglo-Saxon ritual; and, if any difference exists between them, it is to be found in this fact, that the earlier volumes were afterwards broken into smaller codices, the names of which tell the specific part of the service that they were meant for. The *Legend* contained all the lessons out of Holy Writ, and the works of the fathers, read at matins; the *Passional*, or *Passionary*, had in it the lives of martyrs and saints, and was used for some of the lessons at matins, on saints' days. The *Martyrology* was read at the end of prime-song, and contained a short notice of all the saints and martyrs throughout the world, commemorated each day of the year. The *Antiphoner*, or "Lyggar," was always a large codex,

posita, quæ crucem grandem et duo cherubin et imagines Sanctæ Mariæ et Sancti Johannis apostoli sustentabat.—Gervase of Canterbury, *Chron.*, ed. Twysden, ii. 1293 [*R.S.*, lxxiii. i. 9, 10].

having in it not merely the words, but the music and the tones, for all the invitatories, the hymns, responses, versicles, collects, and little chapters, besides whatever else belonged to the solemn chanting of matins and lauds, as well as the smaller canonical hours. The *Psalter* had the psalms of David usually distributed over the days of the week, together with litanies. The *Portous*, or Breviary, contained whatever was to be said by all beneficed clerks, and those in holy orders, either in choir, or privately by themselves, as they recited their daily canonical hours: no musical notation was put into these books. The *Missal* contained all the various masses for the year: and when a "full missal,"—that is, with all the services at length, and the notation given under the words of the more solemn ones,—this codex was very large and thick. In the *Graduale*, or *Grail*, was put whatever the choir took any part in singing, on Sundays or festivals, at high mass; and therefore in it might be found the office for hallowing and sprinkling holy water, the different introits, the Kyries, Glorias, the Sanctuses, the Agnus Dei's,—each with its own various proses or verses mingled along with it; and, besides this, the graduals, the tracts, the (213) sequences, the offertories, the Credo,—all with their musical notation. The *Troper*, after Sarum use, was, in its contents, like the Anglo-Saxon one which we have already spoken of. The *Processional* contained the hymns,

the litany, the proses, sung by the clergy as they walked at any time in procession. The *Verritary* [*Venitare*] was a small book, in which the "Venite, exultemus Domino," sung at the beginning of matins, with the appropriate invitorium, or strophe, repeated at intervals between the verses of the above named 94th psalm, was written out, and the notation for the chant put above the words. On high feast days, the "Venite" used to be sung with great solemnity, by the rulers of the choir. The Sarum, like the Anglo-Saxon *Benedictional*, contained the forms for blessing the people, by the bishop, at high mass, just before the *Pax*. The *Manual* had in it all the services that a parish priest has to perform, with the musical notation where needed, and the full rubrics for the administration of the Sacraments. The *Ordinal* was a directory, or perpetual calendar, so drawn up that it told how each day's service, the year through, might easily be found. For the use of the singing boys often were provided little horn-books, with the responses and their music duly set forth. Among the things which one of the Coventry monks had written out for the use of the church there, we find: *Tabulam responsoriorum corneam quam fecit cum magno labore.*²⁵

²⁵ Hearne, *Hist. of Glaston.*, p. 291.

THE RITUAL YEAR, AFTER SALISBURY USE,

was identical with that which we have seen followed among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers; and, whensoever any difference shows itself, it is always slight and unimportant. On (214)

Christmas Day,

St. Matthew's genealogy of our Lord used to be sung at the end of matins, with all the ritual's magnificence, accompanied by the acolytes, carrying their tapers, and the thurifer and crossbearer, all in appareled albs and tunicles; the deacon, vested in his dalmatic, went in solemn procession up into the pulpit, or rood-loft, where he sang this portion of the gospel. If the bishop were present, he himself sang it; thus of St. Thomas of Canterbury we read that: *Nocte Dominicæ Nativitatis legit evangelicam lectionem, Liber generationis, et missam noctis celebravit.*²⁶ The candlestick held to light the bishop on this occasion, was sometimes a work of art, made for this purpose. Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, among other things, bequeathed to his cathedral: *Unum candelabrum argenteum et deauratum, in cujus fundo est ymago Sanctæ Mariæ cum filio suo jacens in puerperio quod vocatur præsepe, pro*

²⁶ Wm. Fitz-Stephen, *Vita*, § 129 [*R.S.*, lxvii. iii. 130].

nocte Natalis Domini.²⁷ Then, as before, and now, every priest might say three masses upon this festival.

St. Stephen's Day

was marked, as of old, by the leading part which the deacons of every large church took in its celebration, for the protomartyr was their especial patron saint. After the first *Benedicamus Domino*, at the even-song on Christmas Day, all the deacons, arrayed in silken copes, and holding each a lighted taper in his hand, walked in procession, and singing, to St. Stephen's altar, where they made a commemoration of him, and the officiating priest incensed his image; after which they went back into the (215) choir, chanting an anthem in praise of the B. V. Mary.²⁸ On the morrow—the day of the saint's feast—the deacons, vested in silken copes, led the choir in various parts of the service.

St. John the Evangelist's Day

was observed with like solemnities by all the priests, to whom a holy tradition has assigned the well-beloved, youthful apostle, as their immediate patron. Next to this festival came the solemnity of

²⁷ *Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, p. 12.

²⁸ [*Use of Sarum*, lii. (54), vol. i. p. 124.]

Holy Innocents, or Childermas,

which was marked by what our forefathers loved to see so much,—the ceremonial of

The Boy-Bishop,

waited on by his youthful ministers.

St. Nicholas was deemed the patron of children in general, but much more particularly of all schoolboys, amongst whom the 6th of December (the saint's festival) used to be a very great holy day, for more than one reason. In those bygone times all little boys either sang, or served, about the altar, at church; and the first thing they did upon the eve of their patron's festival, was to elect from among themselves, in every parish church, cathedral, and nobleman's chapel, a bishop and his officials, or, as they were then called, "a Nicholas and his clerks." This boy-bishop and his ministers afterwards sang the first vespers of their saint; and, in the evening, arrayed in their appropriate vestments, walked all about the parish. All were glad to see them, and those who could afford it, asked them into their houses, to bestow a gift of money, sweetmeats, or (216) food upon them.²⁹ What was the custom in the

²⁹ One of the items in Edward I.'s expenses for the year 1299, is: Septimo die Decembris cuidam episcopo puerorum dicenti vespas de Sancto Nicholao coram rege in capella sua apud Heton juxta Novum Castrum super Tynam, et quibusdam pueris venientibus et cantantibus cum episcopo predicto, &c., xls.—*Liber Quotidian.*, 25.

houses of our nobles, we may learn from the *Northumberland Household Book*, which tells us that—"My Lord useth and accustomyth to gyfe yerly, upon Saynt Nicolas-even, if he kepe chapell for Saynt Nicolas, to the master of his childeren of his chapell, for one of the childeren of his chapell, yerely, vis. viiid.; and if Saynt Nicolas com owt of the towne wher my lord lyeth, and my lord kepe no chapell, than to have yerely iiis. iiijd." ³⁰ At Eton college, it was on St. Nicholas's day, and not on Childermas, that the boy-bishop officiated, which he did, not only at even-song, but at mass, which he began and went on with up to the more solemn part at the offertory. ³¹

It was upon this festival that some wealthy man or another of the parish, would make an entertainment on the occasion for his own household, and invite his neighbours' children to come and partake of it; and, of course, Nicholas and his clerks sat in the highest places. The *Golden Legend* tells how "a man, for the love of his sone that wente to scole for to lerne, halowed every year the feest of saynt Nycholas moche solemply. On a tyme it happed that the fader had doo make redy the dyner, and called (217) many clerkes to

³⁰ *Liber Quotidian.*, 343.

³¹ In festo Sancti Nicolai, in quo, et nullatenus in festo sanctorum Innocentium, divina officia præter missæ secreta exequi et dici permittimus per episcopum puerorum scholarium, ad hoc de eisdem annis singulis eligendum.—*Statutes, &c.*, 560.

this diner.”³² Individuals sometimes bequeathed money to find a yearly dinner on St. Nicholas’s day, for as many as a hundred scholars, who were, after meat, to pray for the soul of the founder of the feast. In our large schools and universities, the festival was kept with public sports and games. But it was at Holy Innocents, or Childermas’ tide, that Nicholas and his clerks came forth in all their glory. The boy-bishop had a set of pontificals provided for him. St. Paul’s, London, had its “una mitra alba cum flosculis breudatis . . . ad opus episcopi parvulorum . . . baculus ad usum episcopi parvulorum.”³³ York minster, too, its “una capa de tissue pro episcopo puerorum”;³⁴ Lincoln cathedral, “a cope of red velvet—ordained for the barn-bishop”;³⁵ All Souls’ college, Oxford, “j. chem. (ches.?) j. cap. et mitra pro episcopo Nicholao”; St. Mary’s church, Sandwich, “a lytyll chesebyll for seynt Nicholas bysschop.”³⁶ For the boy-bishop’s attendants, copes were also made; and York had no fewer than “novem capæ pro pueris.”³⁷

Towards the end of even-song, on St. John’s day, the little Nicholas and his clerks, arrayed in their copes, and having burning tapers in their hands, and singing those words of the Apocalypse

³² Impress. a Wynkyn de Worde, fol. xlvii., London, 1527.

³³ Dugdale’s *Hist. of St. Paul’s*, 315, 316.

³⁴ *Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1208.

³⁵ *Boys, Hist.*, 376.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1282.

³⁷ *Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1207.

(c. xiv.), "*Centum quadraginta*," walked processionally from the choir to the altar of the Blessed Trinity, which the boy-bishop incensed; afterwards, they all sang the anthem, and he recited the prayer commemorative of the Holy Innocents. Going back into the choir, these boys took possession of upper canons' stalls, and those dignitaries themselves had to serve in the boys' (218) place, and carry the candles, the thurible, the book, like acolytes, thurifers, and lower clerks. Standing on high, wearing his mitre, and holding his pastoral staff in his left hand, the boy-bishop gave a solemn benediction to all present; and, while making the sign of the cross over the kneeling crowd, he said,—

Crucis signo vos consigno; vestra sit tuitio.
Quos nos emit et redemit sue carnis pretio.

The next day, the feast itself of Holy Innocents, the boy-bishop preached a sermon, which of course had been written for him: and one from the pen of Erasmus, "*Concio de puero Iesu*," spoken by a boy of St. Paul's school, London, is still extant; and Dean Colet, the founder of that seminary, in his statutes for it, ordained that "all these children shall, every Childermas daye, come to Paulis church, and hear the childe bishop sermon; and after be at the hygh masse, and each of them offer a *id.* to the childe bysshop, and with them the maisters

and serveyors of the scole.”³⁸ At even-song, bishop Nicholas and his clerks officiated as on the day before, and, until Archbishop Peckham’s times, used to take some conspicuous part in the services of the church during the whole octave of Childermas tide. About A.D. 1279, that primate decreed, however, that the children’s solemnities should be confined to the day.³⁹ This festival, like St. Nicholas’s day, had its good things; and then, as now, was marked by a better dinner in nunneries, wherein the little boys who served at the altars of the nuns’ churches were not forgotten, as we see by the expenses of St. Mary de Prees: “Paid for (219) makynge of the dyner to the susters upon Childermas day, iiis. iiij*d*. It’ paid for brede and ale for Saint Nicholas clerks, iiid.”⁴⁰ How the people loved to look upon, and came in crowds to witness, this procession, may be gathered from a statute, issued by a bishop of Salisbury in order to regulate the ceremonies. He forbade any feasting or visits outside to any one other than canons: and in order to check the damage done by the crowd at the procession, he pronounced a sentence of excommunication against any who

³⁸ Knight, *Colet's Life*, p. 308.

³⁹ *Puerilia autem solennia, quæ in festo solent fieri Innocentum, post vespervas S. Johannis tantum inchoari permittimus, et in crastino in ipsa die Innocentum totaliter terminentur.*—Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii. 38.

⁴⁰ *Mon. Angl.*, iii. 360.

hustled or hindered the boys as they did their ceremonies.^{40a}

If schoolboys had the patron St. Nicholas, little girls had their patroness, too, St. Catherine, who, by her learning, overthrew the cavillings of many heathen philosophers, and won some of them to Christianity. On this holy martyr's festival, therefore, did the girls walk about the towns in their procession. All this was looked upon with a scowl by those who pulled down the church of God in this land: hence Cranmer, towards the end of Henry VIII.'s reign, forbade these and other like processions: (220) "Whereas heretofore dyverse and many superstitious and childyshe observations have been used, and yet to this day are observed and kept in many and sondry parties of this realm, as upon sainte Nicolas, sainte

^{40a} Electus autem puer chorista in episcopum modo solito puerili, officium in ecclesia prout fieri consuevit licenter exequatur, convivium aliquod de cetero vel visitationem exterius seu interius nullatenus faciendo, sed in domo communi cum sociis conversetur nisi cum ut choristam ad domum canonici causa solatii ad mensam contigerit evocari ecclesiam et scholas cum ceteris choristis statim post festum Innocentium frequentando. Et quia in processione qua ad altare Sanctæ Trinitatis faciunt annuatim pueri supradicti, per concurrentium pressuras et alias dissolutiones multiplices nonnulla damna personis et ecclesiæ gravia intelleximus priscis temporibus pervenisse, ex parte Dei omnipotentis et sub pœna majoris excommunicationis quam contravenientes ut pote libertates dictæ ecclesiæ nostræ infringentes et illius pacem et quietem temerarie perturbantes declaramus incurrere ipso facto: inhibeamus ne quis pueros illos in præfata processione vel alias in suo ministerio premat vel impediat quoquo modo.— [*Constitutions of Roger de Mortival* (1319) in *Statutes of Sarum*, ed. Daymen & Jones, p. 75.]

Catheryne, sainte Clement, the holy Innocentes, and such like; children be strangelye decked and apparelid to counterfaite priestes, byshoppes, and women; and so ledde with songes and daunces from house to house, bleassing the people, and gatherynge of monye; and boyes doo singe masse and preache in the pulpitt . . . the kyng's majestie willith and commaundeth that from henceforth all suche superstitions be loste and clyerlye extinguished," &c.⁴¹ Queen Mary restored these harmless rites, and the people were glad to see this, along with other of their old religious usages, given back to them; and an eye-witness tells us that, in A.D. 1556, "the v day of December was Sant Nicolas evyn, and Sant Nicolas whentt a-brod in most partt in London, syngyng after the old fassyon, and was resevyvd with mony good pepulle into their howses, and had myche good chere as ever they had, in mony plasses."⁴² On

The Epiphany, or Twelfthtide,

our kings, whose especial festival it was that day, made an offering, at mass, of gold, frankincense, and myrrh, in imitation of the three wise men.⁴³ Some of our princes used to go in

⁴¹ Wilkins, *Concil.*, iii. 860.

⁴² Machyn, *Diary*, p. 121.

⁴³ In an accompt of Edward I.'s alms for the year 1300, we find set down: vi die Januarii in oblacionibus regis, in capella sua in honore trium Regum, die Epiphanie, viis. . . . Eodem die in oblatione regis in pretio unius florini auri per eundem oblatus thure et mirra.—*Liber Quotidian.*, p. 27.

great state to sing their matins and afterwards to (221) hear mass that morning, clad in their royal robes and crowned. In a description of the way in which Henry VII. once kept his Christmas at Greenwich, we are told that, "On the xiith even the king went to the evensong in his surcoat outward, with tabert sleeves, the cappe of astate on his hede . . . and on the morowe at matens tyme, al other astats and barons had ther surcots outward, with ther hodys; and in the procession tyme they were all in their roobes of astate. The king and the quene wer corouned," &c.⁴⁴

Candlemas and Ash Wednesday varied nothing in their ceremonial from the olden forms of the Anglo-Saxons; but

Lent

brought along with it certain ritual peculiarities. From the evening before the first Sunday of that season of fasting till the Thursday before Easter

The Lenten Curtain

hung down between the people and holy of holies. In cathedrals, it parted the presbytery from the choir; in parish churches, the chancel from the nave. It was only at the Gospel that it was pulled aside, and so remained till the *Orate fratres*, except on festivals of the double class,

⁴⁴ Leland, *Collectanea*, iv. 235.

when it was withdrawn for the whole day. Upon the first Monday in Lent all the crucifixes, as well as the large tall one in the rood-loft, images of every kind, the reliquaries, and even the cup with the Blessed Eucharist hanging over the high altar, were all covered up. The little wooden shutters by the side of those canopied tabernacles, within which so often stood the figure of a saint, well served, and were meant, for such a purpose. This (222) and other ritual observances are clearly set before our eyes in the following passage out of the *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV. in England*—"The kynge, with all his hooste, cam to a towne called Daventre, where the kynge, with greate devocion, hard all divine service upon the morne, Palme Sunday, in the parishe church, wher God and Seint Anne shewyd a fayre miracle . . . afore that tyme, the kynge, being out of his realme in great trouble, prayed to God, our Lady, and Seint George, and amonges othar saynts, he specially prayed Seint Anne to helpe hym, where that he promysed, that at the next tyme that it shuld hape hym to se any ymage of Seint Anne, he shuld thereto make his prayers and gyve his offeringe, in honor and worshipec of that blessyd saynt. So it fell, that the same Palme Sunday the kynge went in procession, and all the people aftar, in goode devotion, as the service of that daye askethe, and whan the processyon was comen into the church, and by ordar

of the service were comen to that place where the vale shul be drawne up afore the Roode, that all the people shall honor the Roode, with the anthem, *Ave*, three tymes begon. In a pillar of the churche, directly aforne the place where kynge knelyd and devowtly honoryd the Roode, was a lytle ymage of Seint Anne, made of alle-blaster, standynge fixed to the pillar, closed and clasped togethars with four bordes, small, payntyd, and growynge rownd abowt the image, in manar of a compas, lyke as it is to see comonly and all abowt, where as suche ymages be wont to be made for to be solde, and set up in churches, chapells, crosses, and oratories, in many placis. And this ymage was thus shett, closed, and clasped, accordynge to the rulles that in all the churchis of England be observyd, all ymages to be hid from Ashe Wednesday to Easter-day in the mornynge. And so the said ymage had bene from Ashwensday to (223) that tyme. And sodaynly, at that season of the service, the bords compassynge the ymage about gave a great crak, and a little openyd, which the kynge well perceyved," &c.⁴⁵ Not only the large rood with St. Mary and St. John in the rood loft, but most other crucifixes, and not a few of the images about our old churches, had to be muffled up in cloths, which, like the wide curtain at the chancel arch, were either of white linen or silk, and

⁴⁵ Leland, *Collectanea*, pp. 13, 14.

marked all of them with a red cross. Of such Lenten veils often do we find mention in wills and inventories: St. Frideswide's, Oxford, had, at its suppression by Henry VIII., "a veall of new whitt sercenett for Lentt. xxs., itm. hangings for the highe alter, for above and benethe of new whit sercenett wth redd crosses, called alter-clothes, for Lent, xs."⁴⁶ Durham Priory had (A.D. 1446): Duo panni albi pro Quadragesima, cum crucibus rubeis superconsutis;⁴⁷ All Souls' College, Oxford: j. velum de serico, et j. de panno lineo, j. descloth cum rubea cruce pro XL:⁴⁸—"Velum unum de serico quadragesimale," was among the ornaments of Salisbury, A.D. 1220.⁴⁹ The finding of the large curtain, that hung between the people and the chancel during Lent, or the "velum quadragesimale," belonged to the parishioners.⁵⁰

Outside this large chancel veil, and in the sight of every one, was it that, all through shrift-time, or Lent, confessions—of women especially—used to be heard; and when one of our old canons says,—*Confessiones mulierum extra velum audiuntur*;⁵¹ the veil about which the statute speaks (224) is not to be understood of the article of dress worn by women, as some Protestant writers

⁴⁶ *Mon. Angl.*, ii. 167.

⁴⁷ *Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, p. 91.

⁴⁸ *Gutch, Collect. Curiosa*, ii. 264.

⁴⁹ Wordsworth, *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions*, 173.

⁵⁰ Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii. 49.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, i. 689.

have oddly enough mistaken it, but of the veil of the sanctuary. The accompanying woodcut, after an illumination in a manuscript Flemish book of Hours, will help to show us how the inside of



one of our own old English churches must have looked in Lent. A white curtain hangs between the chancel and the nave; the rood, with St. Mary and St. John, is wrapped up in white cloths, marked with red crosses; the reredos is covered with a like cloth; the priest, with his furred

amice on, is hearing confession, in open view of everybody, seated on a bench, and not enclosed in anything like (225) a modern confessional, which is of very late introduction. To signify his full faculties in all cases, the little escocheon charged with the Peter-keys and Pope's tiara, is nailed behind, above him; and, with a long outstretched wand, at once the emblem of the rod of discipline, and the staff of authority, he is touching the head, while his upraised right hand is blessing the man who, in going by, kneels, beyond earshot, to crave it, as is to this day done at St. Peter's, Rome. The use of York⁵² was, on this point, exactly like that of Salisbury.

All through Lent, on Wednesdays and Fridays, as well as every Sunday, there was made, between undern-song tide and high mass, a procession about the church. The clergy stopped before

⁵² FERIA IIIJ IN CAPITULO IEIUNII, POST SEXTAM PRELATUS CUM MINISTRIS IN ALBIS, SACRIS INDUTUS VESTIBUS ET CAPATUS, SERMONEM DE DIEI PROPRIETATE, SCILICET QUALITER REI SE IN TEMPORE ILLO CONTINEANT, IN AMBONE SEU IN PULPITO, CRUCE ERECTA, FACIAT, ET POST SERMONEM HUIUSMODI PRESENTE CRUCE ET CEROFERARIIS ANTE GRADUM ALTARIS BENEDICAT CINERES.—*York Missal*, i. 43.

Ab hac dominica (prima Quadragesime) velum suspensum habeatur inter sancta sanctorum et clerum usque ad Cenam Domini; nec abstrahatur nisi dum legitur Evangelium, et ad elevationem hostie, et ad processionem. FERIA quarta et sexta, et in obitibus ad commendationem, et ad missam tantum; et in dominicis, et in aliis festis novem lectionum; sed in festis sanctorum novem lectionum apponatur velum ad missam de feria; et tantum amoveatur ad Evangelium et ad elevationem hostie sicut in aliis feriis. In presentia tamen prelati amoveatur velum ad Confiteor.—*Ibid.*, i. 53, FERIA secunda quadragesime. [*Cf. Feasey, Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial.*]

some altar to pray and prostrate themselves. Having kissed the ground, they arose and went back to the choir, singing the litany. No cross was borne before them. Excepting some few devotional or solemn occasions,

(226) *The Processional Cross carried about in Lent, was always of Wood painted red,*

according to Sarum use ; and there was no figure of our Lord upon it. This we are told by the priest Clement Maydeston in his curious work on the Salisbury ritual, *Crede Michi*.⁵³ Sir Thomas More walked to the block "carrying in his hands a red cross," as his great grandson, Cresacre More, tells us.⁵⁴ Belonging to the Chapel Royal of Scotland, A.D. 1505, there was : Una crux lignea rubri coloris habens hastam longam. Langland, as he glances at the church service on Easter morn, does not forget the reference made by the blood-red cross, to the throes of our Lord upon it, in the following lines :

"Ich fel eft-sones a slepe . and sodeynliche me mette,
That peers the plouhman . was peynted al bloody,

⁵³ ¶ De ij dominica Quadragesime et de Cruce lignea.—Dominica secunda et in omnibus dominicis per xl. Excepta prima dominica deferatur crux lignea . rubei coloris depicta sine ymagine Crucifixi. Sed in alijs processionibus festiuis in Quadragesima contingentibus, causa deuotionis vel causa venerationis, vt contra Archiepiscopum legatum, proprium episcopum, regem vel reginam, vel mortuum suscipiendum, ordinetur crux sicut in alijs temporibus anni.—Wordsworth, *Tracts of Maydeston* (H. B. S.), p. 49.

⁵⁴ *Life*, ed. Hunter, 284.

And cam yn with a croys: . . .

'Is this ihesus þe Iouster?' quap ich · 'þat Iuwes duden to deþe,

Oþer is hit peers plouhman? · ho peynted hym so rede.'

Quap conscience, and kneolede þo · 'þes aren cristes armes,
Hus colours and hus cote-armure · and he þat comeþ so
bloody,

Hit is crist with his crois · conquerour of crystine,' " &c.⁵⁵

(227) *Palm Sunday,*

as of old, had its blessing of flowers, and so-called palms, which were afterwards given to the clergy and people, who carried them in their hands in a procession made all about the church-yard. Some ceremonies for this day, in the Sarum, differed from those of the Anglo-Saxon ritual. In many parts of this country, a large and splendidly ornamented tent⁵⁶ was set up at the furthest end

⁵⁵ *Piers Ploughman*, Passus xxii. 5-14 [ed. Skeat, 399, 400].

⁵⁶ The beauty and the costliness of some of those shrines in which the body of our Lord used to be carried in this procession, and the feelings which wrought upon Englishmen of old, to bestow so many of their thoughts, so much of their gold, upon those works of handicraft, may be seen in the following description of one of them which St. Alban's Abbey once possessed:—*Nec prætereundum . . . quod idem Abbas Simon unum vas mirificum, per modum scrinii compositum (cujus arcam schema quadrat venustissimum; culmen vero per modum feretri surgendo coarctatur, et undique circulis elevatis orbiculatur, in quibus historia Dominicæ Passionis imaginibus fusilibus figuratur, et per totum laminis ductilibus solidæ spissitudinis, ita, scilicet, quod basibus vel sustentaculis ligneis non indiget), Deo et Ecclesiæ Sancti Martyris Albani, ad perpetuum ipsius ecclesiæ honorem et decorem, contulit fabricatum. Et . . . constituit ut in Dominica Palmarum Corpus Dominicum in ipso scrinio veneranter reponeretur, et ab aliquo fratrum moribus et ætate venerabili, in uascula alba usque ad papilionem in Cœmeterio, de pretiosissimis*

of the close or burial-ground; and thither, early in service-time, was carried by two priests, accompanied with lights, a sort of beautiful shrine, of open work, within which hung the Blessed Sacrament, enclosed in a rich cup or pix. The long-drawn procession, gay and gladsome, with its palms and flowers,⁵⁷ went forth, and halted every now and then, as it winded round the outside of the church, to make a station. While they were going from the north side towards the east, and had just ended the gospel read at the first of these stations, the shrine with the Sacrament, surrounded with lights in lanterns and streaming banners and preceded by a silver cross, and a thurifer with incense, was borne forwards so that they might meet it as it were; and our Lord was hailed by the singers chanting *En rex venit mansuetus*. Kneeling lowly down and kissing the ground, they saluted the Sacrament again and

palliis compositum, nisi inclementia auræ impediatur, et tunc in Capitulum deportaretur; duobus fratribus, in cappis, brachia bajulantis dictum vas sustentantibus. Et eodem modo, sequente processione, ad ecclesiam venerantissime reportaretur; ut videant fideles quanto honore dignum sit sacrosanctum Corpus Domini-cum, quod ipso tempore se exposuit flagellandum, crucifigendum, et sepeliendum.—Matt. Paris, *Vitæ Abb. S. Albani*, p. 61 [*R.S.*, xxviii., *Gesta Abbatum*, i. 191, 192]. Gervase of Canterbury speaks of the tent as of common use: tentorium quod (apud ecclesie Cantuariæ) pro consuetudine et solennitate diei (dominicæ Palmarum) erectum est.

⁵⁷ Items for the purchase of these appear in churchwardens' old accompts thus: "For palme, boxfloures, etc., A.D. 1510, iiijd.; for box and palme on Palmesonday, 1s." &c.—*Illustrations*, &c., 270, 94.

again, in many appropriate sentences out of holy writ; and the red wooden cross withdrew from the presence of the silver crucifix. The whole procession now moved to the south side of the close, or church yard, where, in cathedrals a temporary erection was made for the boys who sang the (228) *Gloria, laus et honor tibi sit, rex Christe redemptor*, as a halt was made for a second station. Here was it that sometimes, in parish churches especially,

The Church-yard Cross

was the spot at which they stopped. Falling down on the ground, they yielded their worship to Him who chose to die on the rough hard rood for the love He bore mankind. All about they strewed flowers and green boughs; and after the Passion had been recited at Mass, blessed Palms were brought and this cross was wreathed and decked with them to symbolize Christ's victory over death and sin. References to such a ritual practice are not wanting among our records; and our forefathers liked to think of it; thus Henry Bunn, by his will (A.D. 1501), orders a cross to be set up in Hardley church-yard 'pro palmis in die ramis palmarum offerendis.'⁵⁸ This ceremony at the Palm-cross—so it was sometimes called—used to be performed in the churches of France and Germany,

⁵⁸ Blomefield, *Norfolk*, x. 141.

with great effect.⁵⁹ In France they sometimes heard a sermon at this church-yard cross.⁶⁰

From the stone cross on the southern side of the church-yard, still to be found in so many places, the procession went next to the western doorway, if the church had one, otherwise to the south porch, and there paused to make its third station. The door itself was shut, but after a while flew wide open. The priests who bore the shrine with the Blessed Sacrament and relics, stepped forwards with the heavenly burden, and held it up on high at the doorway, so that all who went in, had to go under this shrine; and

⁵⁹ An old 'Ordo Romanus,' seemingly drawn up for some church in Germany, gives the following rubrics:—*Ut autem peruenerint cum Psalmis, vbi statio est sanctæ Crucis, clerus populusque reuerenter stent per turmas in ordine suo cum baiolis, et reliquo ornatu, et infantes paraphonistæ in loco competenti subsistentes imponant antiphonam. . . . Tunc scolastici e regione crucis, lento gradu veniant ante eam, et cum omni reverentia casulas vel cappas in terram jactantes, proni adorent crucifixum, clero interim cantante antiphonam: Pueri Hebræorum vestimenta prosternebant in via, &c., His recedentibus, continuo veniant ex latere pueri laici Kyrie eleison cantantes et sequendo vexillum quod ante eos portatur, veniant ante crucem et . . . jactent ramos palmarum in terram, proni adorando Crucifixum, et clerus (229) interim canat antiphonam: Pueri Hebræorum tollentes ramos olivarum obuiauerunt Domino, &c. . . . His finitis, incipit schola cum baiolis antiphonam: Omnes collaudent nomen tuum et dicant, Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. . . . Et tunc prosternit omnis populus hincinde flores seu frondes . . . veniat episcopus vel sacerdos ante crucem et prostratus in terram cum omni populo, adoret Crucifixum, clero interim cantante antiphonam, Scriptum est enim, percutiam pastorem, &c.—Hittorp, 50, 51.*

⁶⁰ Duo latrones in dominica Ramis Palmarum clamore facto post sermonem in cimiterio præfatæ ecclesiæ B. Mariæ, ubi tunc ad crucem buxatam monachi venerant.—*Martene, Vet. Script. Collect.*, v. 1123.

thus the procession came back into church, each one bowing his head as he passed beneath the sacrament. Walking up the nave till they reached the rood-loft, they knelt down there and made the fourth and last station. That large curtain which, throughout Lent, had been hanging at the chancel-arch so as to hide from the people's sight the crucifix there, was now drawn away; and, on beholding the rood, the celebrant and choir hailed it thrice with *Ave rex noster fili David redemptor*, and each time knelt down and kissed the floor, and afterwards passed into the chancel. (230) This ceremony is noticed in the extract given just now from the *Arrivall of Edward IV. in England*, and is still further attested by friar Parker, while he affords us the truly Catholic explanation of it in these words:—On Palme Sondaye (says DIVES) at procession the priest drawith up the veyle before the rode, and falleth down to the ground with al the people, and saith thrise: *Ave rex noster*, hayle be thou our kyng, and so he worshippeth that image as king. PAUPER. *Absit*. God forbede. He speketh not to the image, that the carpentar hath made, and the peinter peinted, but if the prest be a fole, for that stock or stone was never king, but he speakethe to hym that died on the cross for us all, to him that is kyng of all thyng.⁶¹ After even-song on Palm-Sunday, the rood was hidden once more by the curtain.

⁶¹ *Dives and Pauper*, fol. xv. b.

York and Sarum agreed in the main outline of the ceremonies for Palm-Sunday.⁶²

⁶² Clement Maydeston, the great rubrician of his time, sets forth the whole ceremonial thus:—

¶ De Dominica in Ramis palmarum.

Hac dominica ante benedictionem florum et frondium legatur lectio deinde sequatur evangelium *Turba multa* et legatur super lectrinam vbi ad missam leguntur euangelia in diebus ferialibus (diacono ad orientem conuerso) non ad lectrinam more simplicis festi. ¶ Finito euangelio et stante executore officij in gradu tercio ab altari in dextera parte eiusdem altaris ad orientem conuerso, . . . positis prius palmis cum floribus supra altare pro clericis, pro alijs vero super gradus altaris in parte australi, sequatur benedictio et cetera. Post distributionem palmarum exeat processio cum cruce lignea sicut in alijs dominicis quadagesime vsque ad primam stationem. Deinde lecto euangelio *Cum appropinquasset Iesus*, feretrum cum reliquijs preparetur, in quo corpus Christi in pixide dependeat obuam veniente cum cruce argentea; cum ymagine (232) Crucifixi precedente cum duobus vexillis et cetera.

Statim vero visa cruce argentea recedat crux lignea. Deinde dicat executor officij *Salue quem Iesu*. ¶ Sciendum est quod ante missam super Crucem non imponuntur flores vel frondes in die Palmarum apud Sarum, ne videantur parari crucem Saluatori suo. Nam si talis crucis adornatio post passionem lectam esset facta, videretur satis congrue fieri. Nam ex lecte passionis auditu, constat nobis ex cruore Saluatoris nostri ipsam crucem esse sanctificatam. ¶ Si quis opponendo dicat, quare adoramus denudatum crucem in introitu ecclesie ante passionem; ¶ respondendum est quod non crucem sed ipsum Crucifixum adoramus dicendo *Aue rex noster*.

Finita tercio statione cantore incipiente R. *Ingrediente Domino*, aperiat ostium ecclesie et intret processio per idem ostium in ecclesiam sub feretro, et capsula reliquiarum ex transuerso ostij eleuatur.

¶ Erubescant sacerdotes parrochiales qui percutiunt ostium cum cruce in introitu ecclesie, expresse contra Ordinale.—*Crede Michi* [Wordsworth, *Tracts of C. Maydeston* (H. B. S.), pp. 50, 51].

The York rubrics are as follows:—Deinde cum ante tentorium processio ordinata fuerit diaconus accepta benedictione a prelato cum presbitero et subdiacono et crucifero et ceroferariis in medio

(233) The office of

Tenebræ,

or matins and lauds for Thursday, Friday, and Saturday in the last week in Lent, was the same in form, especially at the end of lauds, as among the Anglo-Saxons; and the same number of twenty-four lights⁶³ were set upon a triangular candlestick, known by the English by the name of the tenebræ or Lenten "hearse"—hert(ium) quadragesimale,⁶⁴ hercia ad tenebras,—one of which had to be found by the inhabitants of every parish for their church.⁶⁵ Of the "Tene-

stans legat evangelium sec^m M. xxi, "In illo tempore : cum appropinquasset Iesus Hierosolimis," &c. Et postea sacerdos flexis genibus dicat ter : "Dignus es, Domine, accipere gloriam et honorem." Adorans corpus Christi quod tenet presbiter in tentorio, et similiter chorus adoret ter, dicens, "Dignus es," etc. Tunc redeat sacerdos cum corpore Domini et ministri eius in ecclesiam per eandem viam per quam venerunt.—*York Missal*, i. 86.

Cum autem ad portas urbis vel ostium occidentale ecclesie perventum fuerit, ibi ordinata processione, incipiat cantor : *R.* "Collegerunt pontifices," &c. Finito reingressu, pueri in altum supra ostium ecclesie canant versum, "Gloria, laus," &c. Chorus cum genuflexione dicat : "Gloria, laus, et honor tibi sit," &c.—*Ibid.*, 87.

In ingressu processionis prelatus ter flexis genibus ante crucem discóopertam adoret dicens cantando, "Ave, Rex noster"; et chorus idem repetat. . . . Postea vero quattuor vel sex vicarii in pulpito incipiant *R.* "Circumdederunt me." Reincepto ab eisdem *R.* intret processio in chorum et sequatur versiculus sacerdotalis.—*Ibid.*, 88. The liturgical student should notice that the temporary erection over the church door, for the boys to sing the "Gloria, laus," &c., is specified in the above York rubric.

⁶³ *Use of Sarum*, lxvii. (102), vol. i. 142.

⁶⁴ *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 336.

⁶⁵ Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii. 139.

bræ" and the symbolic meaning of that service, the *Liber Festivalis* speaks thus :—" Good friends, ye shall understand that holy church useth these three days, and sayeth service in the even-tide, that is meekness, wherefore we call it tenebre, but holy church calleth it tenebris. Then why this service is thus done in meekness holy fathers tellen for three causes. One is, the night before that our Lord Ihesu Christe was taken, he went unto the mountain of Olivete and prayed thus : (Pater mi (234) si possibile est ; transeat a me calix iste), my Father, if it be possible that this bitter passion may pass from me, if it were the Father's will, and else not. And for dread and fear of that bitter passion that he felt in spirit, he swet both blood and water. And another cause is this, that anone, after midnight, came Judas with fifty knights and much other people to take Christ, and, for it was dark and they could not well know him from Saint James he was so like Christ. Therefore Judas said, (Quem osculatus fuero tenete eum), 'Forsooth,' quoth he, 'him that I shall kiss it is, take ye him,' for Saint James was so like Christ, that much people called him Christ's brother. And thus Judas betrayed his master, and thus was Christ taken in meekness, with all the spite they could do to him, beating him and spitting in his face. The third cause is, when Christ was naked on the cross, feet and hands, hanging iii hours from underne

till none. Then the sun withdrew her light, and was dark through all the world, showing that the maker of light was at that time pained to death. For these three causes, the service of the night is done in darkness, the which service maketh mind how Judas betrayed Christ, and how the Jews came as prively as they could for dread of the common people, wherefore (at) the service is no bell rung, but a sound made of tree whereby all Christian people may have knowledge to come to this service prively without making of any noise, and all that the people should speak of, coming and going, should sound of the tree, that is, the cross that our Lord was done on."

As in the Anglo-Saxon, so in the Sarum rite, on

Maundy Thursday,

or, as it used then to be called,

(235) *Sheer Thursday,*⁶⁶

exactly the same services were celebrated, and almost all of them with a like ceremonial; the

⁶⁶ The meaning of this old English term we gather from the following remarks in the *Liber Festivalis*: "First, if a man asked why Sherethursday is called so, ye may say that, in Holy Church it is called 'Cena Domini,' our Lord's Supper day; for that day he supped with his disciples openly; and after supper he gave them his flesh and his blood to eat and to drink, and said thus (Accipite et manducate, hoc est corpus meum), 'Take ye this, and eat it, for it is mine own body'; and anon, after he washed his own disciples' feet, showing what meekness that was in him, and for the great love that he had to them. It is also in English called Sherethursday; for in old fathers' days the people would

oils were hallowed;⁶⁷ every altar in a church was washed; there was the maundy, too, or washing of feet; and a reservation of the Blessed Sacrament under one kind consecrated that day, not merely for the morrow's celebration, but to be kept after a particular way, till Easter morning.

(236) *The washing of all the Altars*

in a church, and not of the high altar only, is set forth by St. Osmund's rubric, and continued to be done to the very last, as Maydeston tells us.⁶⁸

that day sheer their heads, and clip their beards, and poll their heads, and so make them honest against Easterday. For on Good-friday they do their bodies no ease, but suffer penance, in mind of him that that day suffered his passion for all mankind. On Eastereven it is time to hear their service, and, after service, make holy day. On Sherethursday, a man should do poll his hair and clip his beard, and a priest should shave his crown, so that there should nothing be between God and him; for hairs come of superfluity of veins, and humours of the stomach; and they should pare their nails of hands and feet, that comen of superfluity of filth without forth, and shrive him, and make him clean his soul as without; and thus make him clean both within and without."—Fol. xxxii. b.

⁶⁷ *Use of Sarum*, cxiv. (103), vol. i. 201.

⁶⁸ ¶ In oena [Domini] ante mandatum omnia altaria sunt ablunda.

Ita quod inprimis benedicatur aqua more dominicali extra chorum priuatim.

Postquam vero executor officij dixerit ̄ et orationem de Sancto de quo altare est dedicatum, tam ipse quam omnes clerici priusquam recedant, humiliter et deuote osculentur altare et eodem modo omnia altaria.—*Crede Michi*, in Wordsworth, *Tracts of C. Maydeston* (H. B. S.), p. 51.

The Maundy or washing of Feet,

by our kings, queens, bishops, and noblemen, was a thing most particularly kept up. The number of poor chosen for the occasion was usually thirteen, in remembrance of our Lord and his twelve Apostles, and after the ceremony, they were fed by the same illustrious personages who had washed their feet, and had often either money or clothing—sometimes both—given them ere they went away.⁶⁹ The devotion with which Roger, archbishop of York, always went about this ceremonial, and his custom of paying the expenses, is specially recorded by an old writer.⁷⁰ Robert Betun, bishop of Hereford, was still more exemplary; for William of Wicumb writes of him, that he twice performed this humble office on Maundy Thursday.⁷¹ The *Household Book* of

⁶⁹ Of Edward I.'s queen, we read of her having done this:—*Et pro denariis datis per preceptum reginæ xiii puperibus, die Parasceves, quorum eadem regina lavit pedes, cuilibet eorum iijs. Et pro denariis datis quinque pauperibus die Veneris sequente cuilibet vid.—Liber Quotid., 45.* Elizabeth of York used to bestow “on xxxvij pore women every woman iijs. jd., for hir maundy upon Shire Thursday.”—*Privy Purse Expenses*, i.

⁷⁰ *Statuit idem archiepiscopus (Rogerus) . . . ut sacrista ea quæ ad canonicos spectant in die Cœnæ Dominicæ tam in epulis (237) quam in vino, cervisia et vasis et aqua calida ad ablutionem pedum ipsorum canonicorum, et clericorum, et pauperum, et xs. argenti lx pauperibus post ablutionem pedum suorum distribuendos, et victualia quæ secundum consuetudinem matricis ecclesiæ solebant ipso die pauperibus post ablutionem pedem ministrari, sumptibus suis propriis inveniret.*—[Stubbs, *Actus Pontif. Ebor.*, in] Twysden, ii. 1723.

⁷¹ In Cœna Domini quotannis cum sacramenta diurna peregrisset, et pauperibus Christi propriis manibus necessaria ministrasset;

the Earls of Northumberland, we may well believe, shews not merely the home and inward life of that, but of every other like great family in this kingdom during those Catholic times when that document was written. From the above-named valuable work then, we learn that, "My Lorde useth and accustomyth yerely uppon Maundy Thursday when his Lordship is at home, to gyf yerly as manny gownnes to as manny poor men as my Lorde is yeres of aige with hoodes to them, and one for the yere of my Lordes aige to come of russet cloth, &c. Item: as manny sherts of lynnnon cloth to as manny poure men. Item: as many tren (wooden) platers after ob. the pece with a cast of brede and a certain meat in it. Item: as manny eshen cuppis with wyne in them. Item: as manny purses of lether, with as manny penys in every purse, &c. Item: My Lord useth to cause to be bought iij yerdis and iij quarters of brode violett cloth for a gowne for his (238) Lordshipe to doo service in, or for them that schall doo service in his Lordshypes absence, after iiis. viiid. the yerde, and to be furrede with blake lamb, which gowne my Lorde werith all the tyme his Lordship doith service, and after doith gyf to the pourest man. Item: for my Lady, as

facto vespere Salvatoris exemplum in abluendis pedibus discipulorum in choro reverenter exhibebat. Deinde domi præparatis pauperibus aliis, idem humilitatis exemplum repetebat, addens caritatis opus in eleemosynis consolatoriis, &c.—Anglia Sacra, ii. 310.

manny groits to as manny poure men as hir Ladyshipe is yeres of aige. Item: for my Lordes eldest sone, as manny pens of ij pens to as manny poure men as (he) is yeres of aige; for every of my yonge maisters, my Lordis yonger sonnes, as manny penns to as manny poore men as every of my said maisters is yeres of aige," &c.⁷²

How the kings of England used to this, we are told by Sir Thomas More, who says:—"Thensample of Christ in weshyng the Apostles' feete, with his exhortacion unto them by his ensample to do the lyke, byndeth no men to folow the literall fashion thereof in weshyng of folkes feete, as for a rite or ceremony or a sacrament of the churche. Howbeit much it hath ben ever synce, and yet in every country of Christendome in places of religion used it is, and noble prynces and great estates use that godly ceremony veri religiously. And none, I suppose, no where more godly than our soveraygne lorde the kynges grace here of this realm, both in humble maner wesshing and wyping and kyssyng also many poore folkes fete after the nnumber of the yeares of hys age, and with right liberal and princely almes therewith." ⁷³

⁷² P. 354, &c.

⁷³ *Works*, 1319. The whole of the Maundy Thursday's ceremonies are thus set forth by the rubrics of the York Missal: Prelatus vero in revestiaro festive paratus cum duodecim presbyteris casulatis et septem diaconibus et totidem subdiaconibus cum dalmaticis et tunicis festive indutis, et thuriferariis et ceroferariis ad altare secundum quod ordinatum erit, incepto "Gloria

(239) In this day's mass, besides the host which he himself had to receive, the sacrificing priest consecrated other two (240) hosts that were put into a pix, and, at the end of mass, carried privately unto some becoming place in the sacristy. Of these two reserved hosts, one was taken on the morrow—

Patri," introeat. Et dicto "Kyrie eleyson," prelatus incipiat, "Gloria in excelsis," quod dum canitur classicum pulsetur. Prelatus dicat "Pax vobis"; sacerdos, "Dominus vobiscum"; sed non dicatur, "Flectamus genua," nec "Gloria in excelsis," nec "Credo," nec "Agnus Dei," nec "Ite, missa est," nisi in matrici ecclesia ubi penitentium fit reconciliatio et crismatis consecratio. [*York Missal*, i. 96.] The reservation of the Blessed Eucharist for the morrow is thus prescribed: Et communicent maiores ecclesie. Sanguis penitus sumatur. De corpore Domini in crastinum servetur, et a prelato ubi servandum erit, reverenter reponatur.—[*Ibid.*, 98.] For the washing of feet, or the "maundy," and the washing of the altars with wine and water and a bunch of hyssop, or of savin, we have these rubrics: Post refectiorem, circa horam vespertinarum, conveniant prelati et clerici omnes ecclesie ad ecclesiam, Et facta prius mandato pauperum, postea fiat mandatum fratrum ubi prelati et decani et maiores ecclesie nudis pedibus accincti lintheis lavent fratrum circumsedentium pedes, et cantetur interim antiphona, "Dominus Jesus postquam," cum reliquis antiphonis quæ ad hoc institute sunt in antiphonario. Post hec, diaconus in albis, et subdiaconus, et ceroferarii in medium procedant, ubi diaconus legat in modum lectionis Evangelium secundum Johannem, "Ante diem festum Pasche," &c. Interim a ministris ecclesie ponantur coram prelato et ceteris consedentibus mappæ; et nebule cum vino quasi ad cenandum. Finita vero lectione post mandatum completum, statim prelati dicat hanc orationem, "Adesto, Domine," &c.

His peractis, statim sacerdos cum ministris et crucifero et ceroferariis scilicet in albis, comitante clero, ad altaria lavanda procedant, ubi prius aqua benedicta superinfundatur, laventque sacerdos et diaconus altaria cum ysopo et savina scilicet mixta, et deinde vinum superinfundatur. Dum hec fiunt canatur *R.*, "Circumdederunt me," cum versiculo. Postea vero dicitur antiphona de Sancto cuiuscunque altare erit, et sacerdos subiungat versiculum cum oratione de eodem, &c. Hoc ordine fiat per singula altaria. Post hec vero bini et bini dicant completorium privatim.—[*York Missal*, i. 101.]

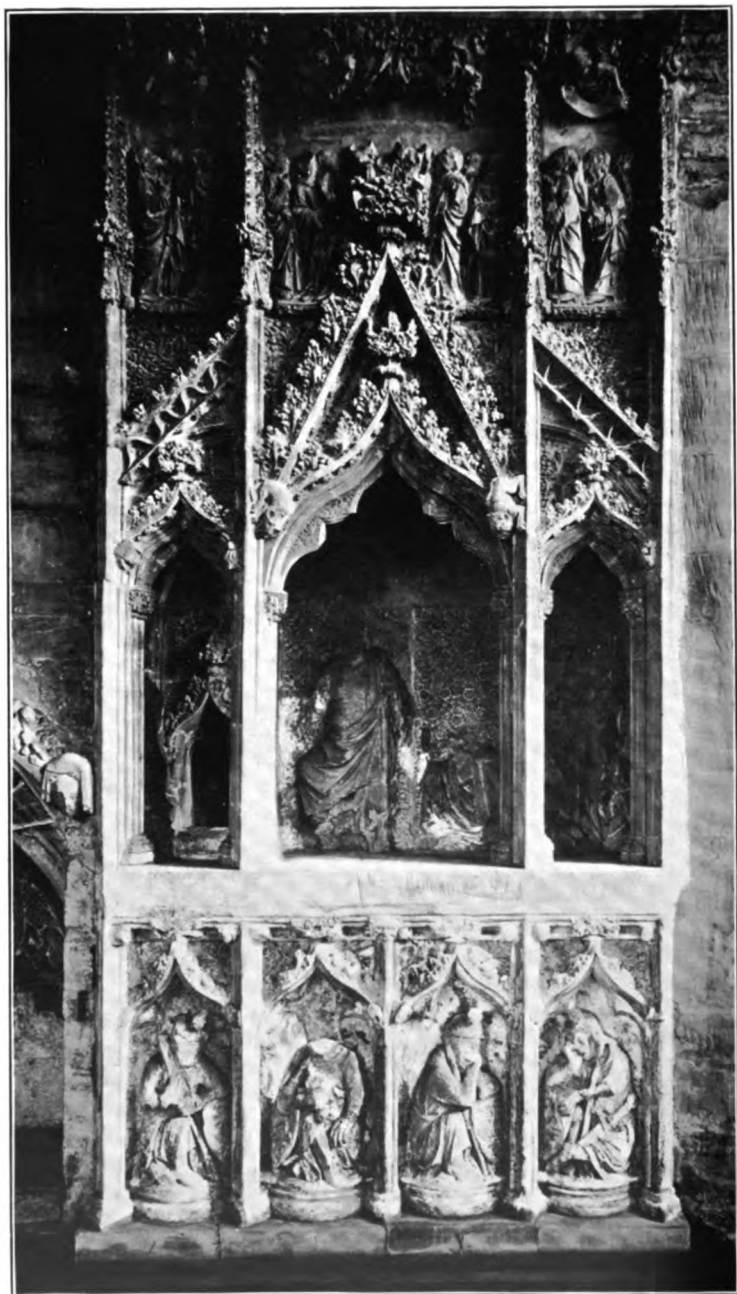
Good Friday,

by the priest who celebrated what is still called the Mass of the Presanctified; the second he shut up in its pix, and put along with the cross that had just been kissed, within

The Sepulchre,

which always stood on the north side of the chancel. This holy week sepulchre was almost always a slight and temporary erection of wood, hung with the best and richest palls of gold and silver cloth, or costly silks, which could be found, or had been bequeathed for the purpose. Usually there stood within it a winged angel watching, as it were, its little door; and tapers burned, and people prayed about it, day and night, from Good Friday till early morn at Easter.⁷⁴ Sometimes, however, this tomb was made to be lasting, and built of stone. Thus, as a work of art, and crowded with sculptured watching angels and guarding soldiers, it often lent no small beauty to the (241) church wherein it stood, as may be witnessed

⁷⁴ Of this sepulchre, the following notices are found among the accompts of St. Nicholas' church, Great Yarmouth: "A.D. 1465. Paid for setting up the sepulchre; drying the sepulchre's cloth; bearing the whip; for two pullies over the sepulchre, in the chancel roof; for taking down the sepulchre; for mending the sepulchre; for mending an angel standing at the sepulchre; for dressing and watching the sepulchre; for tending the sepulchre's lights."—Swinden, *Hist. of Great Yarmouth*, 811.



EASTER SEPULCHRE AT HAWTON

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1. *Chlorophyll a* (Chl *a*)

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from the examples which yet remain at Heckington, Hawton, and other places, and tell us, in low whisperings, what was the belief, what the ritual of gone-by ages. How the nobility of this land sought, in olden times, to be buried at this spot, so that, upon the slab over their graves, the body of our Lord might rest at Easter, we have already shown the reader.⁷⁵

The Kissing of the Cross on Good Friday:

or, as it was more generally called,

The Creeping to the Cross,

was done with precisely the same ceremonial as we have already described among the Anglo-Saxons. The way in which our Catholic kings used to go through this day's ceremonies, or, "The order touchinge their cominge to service, hallowinge of the crampe rings, and offeringe, and creeping to the Crosse," is shown us in several existing documents.⁷⁶

On this solemn day of sadness, it would seem that the people of their own free will underwent a kind of public penance which was inflicted on them by their parish priest, who smote with a little bundle of rods the hands of those who chose to come and outstretch them to him for that pur-

⁷⁵ Vol. iii. pp. 76, 77.

⁷⁶ *Northumberland Household Book*, 436.

pose. To such a rite Sir Thomas More refers when he says:—"Tindall is as lothe, good tender pernell, to take a lyttle penaunce of the prieste, as the ladye was to come anye more to dyspelyng that wepte even for tender heart twoo dayes after when she talked of it, that the priest had on good friday with the dyspelyng rodde beaten her hard uppon her lylve white hands."

The purchase of these rods (242) for Good Friday, is noticed in some old church expenses thus:—For disseplynyng roddis, and nayles for the sepulchre, 2*d*.⁷⁷

The service for Good Friday was, in fact, almost exactly such as had been followed among the Anglo-Saxons. The cross was crept to on bended knees, and kissed; the Mass of the presanctified was celebrated; and after even-song, which was said at the end of Mass, the celebrant put off his red chasuble, and along with another priest—both barefoot—carried the third reserved particle of the Blessed Eucharist from Maundy Thursday's consecration, enclosed in a pix, and the cross that had just been kissed, to the sepulchre wherein he left them with lights burning around till Easter Sunday morning. The ceremonies in the York Missal are almost the very same as those we have described.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ *Churchwarden's Accounts of St. Mary Hill, London, A.D. 1510*, in Nichols, *Illustrations, &c.*, 105.

⁷⁸ At the reading of the Passion, the altar-cloth was thus taken from off the altar: *Non scindamus illam; sed sortiamur de illa*

(243) The Sarum rites for

(244) *Holy Saturday*

vary not a tittle from the olden ones: the new fire, the paschal candle, the baptismal font, were

cuius sit. Ut scriptura impleretur. ¶ Hic distrahantur lintheamina super altare connexa.—[*York Missal*, i. 102.]

The ceremony for kissing the cross was thus ordered: Orationibus completis, prelatus et ministri in revestuario discalceati in albis tantum procedant super tapeta strata et in australi parte chori sedeant super scannum substrato illis tapeto, et lintheo super pulvinaria iniecto. Deinde vicarii duo in albis a dextra parte altaris stolas suas coram se in modum crucis habentes nudis pedibus super tapeta ab altari usque in chorum expansa procedentes; et crucem coopertam cum cervicali superposito baiulantes canant antiphonam "Popule meus."

Duo diaconi in albis, nudis pedibus, in medio ante ostium occidentale chori respondeant, ter genua flectendo, "Agyos o theos."

Chorus similiter ter genua flectendo, dicat antiphonam, "Sanctus Deus."

Postea dicti duo vicarii cum cruce aliquantulum progressi dicant antiphonam, "Quia eduxi te," &c.

Tandem duo vicarii intra ianuas australes chori super gradus altiores stantes discooperta cruce dicant hanc antiphonam, "Ecce lignum Crucis," &c.

Chorus flexis genibus dicat "Ecce lignum Crucis," &c.

Interim prelatus, et ministri, et decanus, cum reliquo clero adorent crucem, alia antiphona interim canenda, "Tuam Crucem adoramus, Domine," &c.

Item dum chorus adorat, canatur hymnus,—

"Crux fidelis inter omnes
Arbor una nobilis," &c.

¶ Dum populus adorat, canatur antiphona cum versu, "Dum fabricator mundi," &c.

Tandem adorata cruce baiulent eam duo vicarii usque ad locum sepulchri; ubi prelatus eam accipiens incipiat has antiphonas, et chorus finiat, "Super omnia ligna cedrorum," &c.

Postea prelatus ponat flexis genibus crucem in sepulchro et duos cereos accensos cum duobus urceis. Postea thurificet eam,

each, as they had heretofore been, hallowed. This may be seen from the monuments of our old and ever to be beloved ritual.

[The Church and clergy began to assume their festal appearance: the Mass was postponed till late: for at Eastertide it was not forgotten that the Vigil services belong properly to the night and not to the preceding day. The white albs and festive array are the precursors of what is to follow, and the best vestments are to be worn unless baptisms are to be held, in which case prudence dictates the wearing of second best.

The procession goes through the West door of the choir to a column on the south side of the nave for the blessing of the new fire: there is no cross, the censers have no burning coals, the candles are not lighted: a boy in a surplice,

et tunc erectus incipiat antiphonam, "Sepulto Domino signatum est monumentum," &c. Chorus canendo finiat.

Deinde prelatus casulatus, et ministri in albis in revestuario calciati accedant ad gradus ante altare, dictisque "Confiteor" et "Misereatur," et absolutione, cum precibus, et oratione "Aufer a nobis," more solito prelatus accipiat in armariolo calicem cum corpore Domini quod a pridie servabatur; et precedentibus duobus torchiis accensis usque ad altare baiulet. Sacrificioque super altare collocato, vinum aqua mixtum non sanctificatum in calicem ponat et thurificet, ablutisque manibus redeat ad altare pretermisissique, "In spiritu humilitatis," &c., et facta conversione ad populum, dicat statim mediocri voce, "Per omnia sæcula," &c.; "Pater noster," &c.; "Libera nos, quæsumus," &c. In qua oratione dividat corpus Domini, sicut fieri solet aliis diebus.

Hac enim die sacrificium non offertur sacramentaliter sed sumitur altera die oblatum, prelato autem cum silentio communicato, ut premittitur, cum ceteris qui communicare voluerint.—[*York Missal*, i. 105-108.]

carrying a candle fastened upon a pole [see illustration], follows the Holy Water, and the rest follow. The new fire is struck out of flint and steel, and is blessed : from it are lighted the candle upon the pole and a second candle in case of accident, and the coals of the censer are kindled. The choir returns to the chancel singing the hymn *Inventor rutili*, and the blessing of the Paschal Candle follows : the incense is fastened in it, and the candle is censed, and from it are lighted all the candles in the Church.]⁷⁹



In many of our larger churches for the

Paschal Candle,

blessed with so much form this day, the candlestick was seven-branched, made of laton or brass, so that it could be easily set up or taken to pieces again, and of itself a beautiful work of art, spreading out its six limb-like arms with their tapers over a wide space of the presbytery. It was so fashioned that the candle reached almost to the vaulting of the roof : from the seventh or upright branch in the middle, arose a tall thick piece of wood, sometimes round sometimes square, but always, as it would seem, painted to look like wax. This wooden imitation of a candle, which rested on the socket of the middle branch, was

⁷⁹ [*Use of Sarum*, xix. vol. i. p. 144, printed in full here by Dr. Rock (pp. 245-248) since it was not in his text of the *Consuetudinary*.]

called—it is not known why—the “Judas of the paschal,” at the top of which was let in the true wax candle, which was often not round but (245) square.⁸⁰ To light it, as well as, no doubt, to carry off the smoke, they contrived at Durham Cathedral an opening in that part of the ceiling just above it.⁸¹

[Then follow the reading of the lessons and the singing of the Tracts with their collects, and then the septiform Litany, and the quinqueform Litany already mentioned (p. 100), and so the Blessing of the font is reached and the baptisms, if any one is present to be baptized. The metrical Litany *Rex sanctorum* links this to the Vigil Mass :⁸² after the *Kyrie*, on this day as well as]

⁸⁰ Item, paid for twelve *Judacis*, to stand with the tapers, 2s.—*Illustrations*, 9.

Mem., that the *Judas* of the pastel, i.e. the tymbre, that the wax of the pastel is driven upon, weigheth 7 lb.—*Ibid.*, 107.

⁸¹ *Ancient Monuments and Rites*, &c., 9.

⁸² As at Salisbury, so did they at York for all these ceremonies. In Sabbato sancto Pasche, ignis de berillo vel de cilice exceptus in occidentali parte ecclesie accendatur. Prelatus vero post nonam decantatam sacris vestibus capa alba serica indutus, precedentibus ministris in albis cum textu et cum cruce appenso et thurifero cum thuribulo vacuo, et cum cereo haste affixo qui ab aliquo maiori debet ferri et ceroferariis cum cereis non accensis et puero cum aqua benedicta ad ignem benedicendum procedat maioribus ecclesie proximo prelatum sequentibus et inferioribus subsequenter. Stanteque in ordine clero, prelatus cum ministris stans iuxta ignem dicat legendo : “ Dominus vobiscum,” &c.; “ Deus qui filium tuum angularem scilicet lapidem,” &c.; “ Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne Deus benedi~~x~~cere et sanctifi~~x~~care digneris istum ignem,” &c.

Benedictio incensi.

“ Oremus. Veniat, omnipotens Deus, super hoc incensum largae tue benedi~~x~~ctionis infusio,” &c.

(249) upon Whitsun eve, at the moment the officiating priest sang the first words of the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, the bells (250) rang out a full peal, and all the canons and clerks who were chanting in the choir, knelt down for a second, took off the black choir-copes and arose clad in their surplices; and vested thus white came to church and performed the choir duty, all through the Easter

Deinde aspergatur ignis a prelato aqua benedicta, et impleto thuribulo de igne benedicto, et incenso benedicto a prelato imposito thurificetur ignis a prelato. Postea accensis cereis videlicet tam cereis a ceroferariis deportatis quam cereo haste affixo de igne benedicto, redeat in chorum processio ex parte boriali, et prelatus cum ministris et maioribus ecclesie processionem sequatur, ceroferariis canentibus hunc hymnum, "Inventor rutili dux bone luminis," &c. Sequitur benedictio cerei Paschalis a diacono dalmaticato facienda, prelato capato interim in sede sua residente. "Exultet iam angelica turba," &c.—[*York Missal*, i. 109.]

Postea septem pueri in suppelliciis vel in albis in choro letaniam hanc cantent, choro eis alterna respondente.

Deinde quinque diaconi vel subdiaconi in suppelliciis hanc continuo subiungant letaniam, et cum dicitur "Sancta Dei genitrix," procedat processio ad fontes benedicendos precedentibus puero cum aqua benedicta et ceroferariis et crucifero, et duobus diaconibus in suppelliciis cum crismate et oleo, et subdiacono cum textu et diacono in albis, et his qui letaniam canunt in medio processions subsequentibus: prelatus vero capatus cum capellano et baiulo sue crucis et duobus ceroferariis sequatur processionem.—[*Ibid.*, 119.]

Deinde rector chori incipiat "Kyrie leyson," &c.

Deinde prelatus cum vii. vel v. diaconibus dalmaticatis et totidem subdiaconibus tunica festive paratis precedentibus ceroferariis et ij. thuribulis introeat ad altare, factaque confessione et dictis "Kyrieleyson," ut supra, prelatus incipiat "Gloria in excelsis Deo," quod dum canitur, classicum pulsetur. Oratio, "Deus qui hanc sanctissimam noctem," &c. ¶ Ad Colossen., "Fratres, si consurrexistis," &c.

Duo vicarii in albis cantant "Alleluia." Quo incepto, chorus nigras cappas exuant et missam in suppelliciis expleant.—[*Ibid.*, 123.]

holidays till Low Sunday. This casting aside of the black cope, was meant to teach them, not merely to drop the livery of sorrow, but to put on the new man.

Connected with this change of dress by the clergy, was a domestic custom thus described in the *Liber Festivalis*:—

In die pasche.

Good friends ye shall know well that this day is called in many places God's Sunday. Know well that it is the manner in every place of worship at this day to do the fire out of the hall, and the black winter brands, and all thing that is foul with smoke shall be done away, and there the fire was shall be gaily arrayed with fair flowers, and strewed with green rushes all about, showing a great ensample to all Christian people, like as they make clean their houses to the sight of the people, in the same wise ye should cleanse your souls, doing away the foul brenning (burning) sin of lechery, put all these away, and cast out all thy smoke, dust, and strew in your souls flowers of faith and charity, and thus make your souls able to receive your Lord God at the feast of Easter—(*Deponentes omnem maliciam*) and put away all malice and all sorrow, for right as ye will suffer nothing in your house that stinketh and savoureth evil wherewith ye may be deceived, right so Christ, when he cometh into your house of your souls,

and he find there any stink of wrath, envy, or any other (251) deadly sin, he will not abide there, and anon he goeth his way. And then cometh the fiend in and bideth there.⁸³

Just before the first streak of dawn upon

Easter Morning,

the church was lighted up, and thither every body hastened ere one toll had been given on the bells. Two of the upper priests, accompanied by the acolytes and the thurifer, and followed by the whole clergy, walked to the sepulchre, and having fumed it with incense on their bended knees, most reverently took out the pix which held the body of our Lord, and carried it to the high altar, where they hung it up within the cup or dove beneath the canopy. All the bells then rang out a gladsome peal at once. Going back again with the same attendants, these two priests next took out of the sepulchre the crucifix which had been kissed, and buried there on Good Friday. Holding this cross between them in both their arms, they entoned the anthem *Christus resurgens ex mortuis*, and then began the procession to some small altar, at the foot of which they laid the crucifix down upon a cushion; and the clergy and people came or 'crept,' as they did on Good Friday, and kissed it. This was an act of devotion

⁸³ Fol. xxxviii.

which our Catholic countrymen well understood, and warmly loved; and our old writers often spoke of it. Langland sketches what once was an English Easter morn thus:—

“Men rang to þe resurreccioun · and with þat ich awakede,
And kallyd kytte my wyf · and kalote my doughter,
A-rys, and go reuerence · godes resurreccioun, (252)
And creep on kneos to þe cryos · and cusse hit for a luwel, . . .
For godes blesside body · hit bar for oure bote,
And hit a-fereþ þe feonde · for such is þe myghte,
May no grysliche gost · glyde þer hit shadewep!”⁸⁴

By the cross, as on Good Friday, there was a basin into which each one dropped his offering; from the *Northumberland Household Book*, we find that “My Lords offeringe accustomed yere upon Ester day in the morning when his Lordshippe crepith the Cros after the Resurrection,” was iiij.⁸⁵

In some large churches, however, this ceremony was done after another way. Instead of a pix in the usual shape, they had, for the occasion, a beautiful golden image of our Lord, standing upright and holding the flag of the cross in his left hand. The breast of this figure was so hallowed, that the blessed Eucharist could be shut up inside by a rock-crystal door through which the sacrament was seen; and this image, enclosing the body of our Lord, was put, together

⁸⁴ *Piers Ploughman*, *Passus xxi.*, 472-479 [ed. Skeat, 395].

⁸⁵ *Ut* s. 335.

with the cross, on Good Friday, into the sepulchre. "There was in the abbye church of Duresme a verye solemne service uppon Easter day, betweene three and four of the clocke in the morninge, in honour of the Resurrection, where two of the oldest monkes came to the sepulchre, beinge sett upp upon Good Friday, after the passion, all covered with red velvett and embrodered with gold, and then did sence it, either monke with a pair of silver sencers sitting on their knees before the sepulchre. Then they both rising came to the sepulchre, out of the (253) which, with great devotion and reverence, they tooke a marvelous beautifull image of our Saviour, representing the resurrection, with a crosse in his hand, in the breast whereof was enclosed in bright christall the holy Sacrament of the altar, through the which christall the Blessed host was conspicuous to the beholders. Then, after the elevation of the said picture, carryed by the said two monkes uppon a faire velvett cushion, all embrodered, singinge the anthem of *Christus resurgens*, they brought it to the high altar, settinge that on the midst thereof, whereon it stood, the two monkes kneeling on their knees before the altar and senceing it all the time that the rest of the whole quire was in singinge the aforesaid anthem of *Christus resurgens*. The which anthem beinge ended, the two monkes took up the cushions and the picture from the altar, supportinge it betwixt them,

proceeding, in procession, from the high altar to the south quire dore, where there was four antient gentlemen belonginge to the prior, appointed to attend theire cominge, holdinge upp a most rich canopye of purple velvett, tached round about with redd silke and gold fringe; and at everye corner did stand one of these gentlemen to beare it over the said image, with the Holy Sacrament, carried by two monkes round about the church, the whole quire waitinge uppon it with goodly torches and great store of other lights . . . till they came to the high altar againe, whereon they did place the said image, there to remaine untill the Ascension day.”⁸⁶ One of such images was bequeathed by cardinal Beaufort to Wells cathedral.⁸⁷ The cathedral of Lincoln possessed “an image of our Saviour silver and gilt, standing upon six lions, void in the breast, for the sacrament for Easter-day, having a beral before and a diadem behind, with a cross in hand, weighing thirty-seven ounces.”⁸⁸

From Easter morning, till the Ascension,

A Cross of Crystal,

or beril, was carried in all processions; just as the blood-red wooden cross had been borne

⁸⁶ *Ancient Monuments, Rites, &c., of Durham*, 10.

⁸⁷ Unam ymaginem argenteam deauratam resurrectionis Dominice stantem super viride terragium amilasatum, habentem birillum in pectore pro corpore Dominico imponendo, ponderis trojani octuaginta et (254) quindecim uno.—*Mon. Angl.*, ii. 280.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, viii. 1279.

throughout Lent.⁸⁹ This 'cross of christall,' is noticed in the Easter morning's procession, at Durham;⁹⁰ and others of the kind are often found mentioned in old church-plate inventories: Lincoln cathedral had its 'cross of chrystal with a crucifix, silver and gilt—with a lamb in the back,' &c., and a 'cross of berall and copper with a pike of iron';⁹¹ and among cardinal Wolsey's plate, was 'oone parte crystall garnyshid,' with silvar and gilte waying clerly beside the cristall cxxviiij oz.⁹²

Every day through Easter week, a solemn procession led by no less than four rulers of the choir and (255) accompanied by the holy oils, walked, after even song, to the newly hallowed baptismal font, to fume it with incense and make a station at its side. All, but the boy who carried the book, were vested in albs. In these as well as in all other processions on high festivals, the

⁸⁹ ¶ De cruce sine vexillo.

In ecclesia Sarum et secundum Ordinale Sarum, nunquam ad processionem portatur crux cum vexillo, sicut habetur in multis ecclesiis.

Sed in tempore pascali portatur crux de [var. cum] berillo vaeque ad Ascensionem Domini.—*Crede Michi* [Wordsworth, *Tracts of C. Maydeston* (H.B.S.), p. 53].

⁹⁰ *Ancient Monuments*, &c., 11.

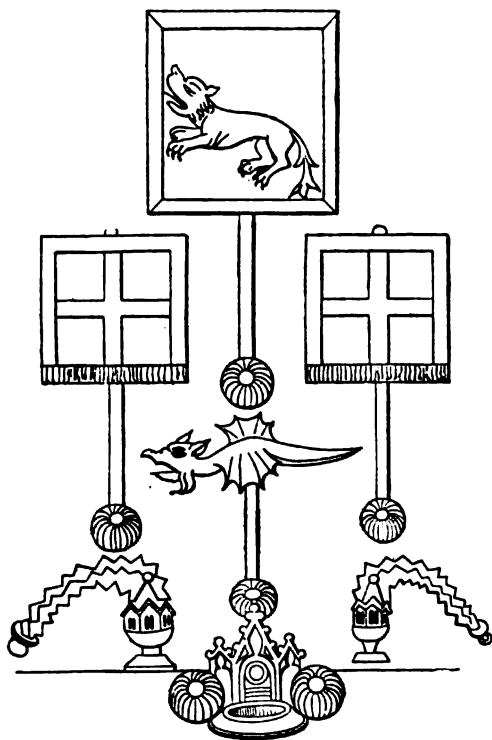
⁹¹ *Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1280.

⁹² Gutch, *Collect. Curiosa*, ii. 323. York minster had: Una crux de rubeo jaspide ornata cum argento deaurato, cum petris infixis in pede ligneo depicto. . . . Item una crux de christallo cum pulchro pede bene sculpta, &c. (*Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1204). These were short crosses to stand upon the altar: it is likely the red jasper one served for Lent; the one of crystal, for Paschal time.

year through, a number of banners, each with its own device, were borne. On

Ascension Day,

however, the one of the Lion went first; after it



came all the smaller banners, and, last of all, the image of the dragon, as is shown in this woodcut from the scarce (256) illustrated edition of the *Sacrum Processional*, printed A.D. 1528. This was

meant to say how Christ our Lord, the lion of the tribe of Juda, had, by his uprising into heaven, won his last fight with the devil the mighty dragon.⁹³

On

Whitsunday,

at undern song tide or tierce—that hour of the day when the Holy Ghost came visibly down upon the first believers at Jerusalem—and before the High Mass, a band of priests, with burning thuribles in their hands, went and stood at the altar's foot, to begin the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*. After kneeling lowly down and kissing the ground, they arose, and going up all together to the altar, fumed it with incense.⁹⁴

Another peculiarity of the Salisbury ritual, was the way in which, upon All Saints' day, or

⁹³ See Wordsworth, *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions*, p. 193. In the Windsor inventory (A.D. 1385) mention is made of: *Unus draco, et unus leo pro processione in Rogationibus cum sex hastis et quatuor vexilla nova, cum imaginibus poncionatis.*—*Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1367.

⁹⁴ In die Penthecostes incipiat executor officij horam terciam ad gradum chori, et tunc procedant cum ceteris sacerdotibus thuribulis precedentibus ad gradum altaris. Et ibi omnes simul incipiant hymnum *Veni Creator Spiritus*, genu flectendo, et postquam inceperint terram osculando et genu flectendo, cum surgentes thurificent altare.

¶ Chorus vero cum genu flexione respondeat osculando formulas, et ex utraque parte simul totum versum stando prosequatur.

¶ Nota *stando*. Postquam sacerdotes thurificauerint altare omnes simul osculentur illud. Et sic faciendum est in quolibet versu. *Crede Michi* [Wordsworth, *Tracts of C. Mayileston* (H.B.S.), p. 60].

(257) *All Hallows,*

the eighth response at matins used to be sung. Five boys—emblematic of those five wise maidens in the parable—robed in surplices, and each with an amice, veil-like, drawn over his head, and holding a lighted taper in his hand, came forth, and, standing at the steps between the choir and the presbytery, sang that response—*Audivi vocem de cælo dicentem: Venite omnes virgines sapientissimæ, &c.*⁹⁶

Such, reader, are the chief though not all the beauties of our dear old Sarum rite, which, after all, was so very Anglo-Saxon in its leading features. To love those olden ways in which our fathers for ages trod, is what has been told us and taught us by some of the highest holiest men who have lived at different times and various places in God's one catholic everlasting Church. How St. Charles Borromeo strove and wrought successfully to keep up the liturgy and ritual as they were left by his predecessor, the great St. Ambrose; how Cardinal Ximenes preserved, at Toledo, the Mozarabic service—are facts well known. Benedict XIII., while Abp. of Benevento, among other revivals of forgotten or neglected rites, and other services rendered to the liturgy, brought back into use at his cathedral the ceremony of washing the altar with water and wine, on Maundy Thursday,

⁹⁶ [*Use of Sarum*, liii. (55), vol. i. p. 125.]

for which he is much praised by Cardinal Borgia.⁹⁶ The Holy See, nay the Church herself, has always acknowledged the lawfulness of keeping up local rites and praiseworthy customs in different countries. The council of Trent, *Sess. XXIV.*, in its *Decretum de Reformatione Matrimonii*, *cap. i.*, says:—*Si quae provinciae aliis, ultra praedictas, laudabilibus (258) consuetudinibus et cæremoniis hac in re utuntur, eas omnino retineri sancta Synodus vehementer optat.* For the holy See, and the Roman Congregation of Rites, Gavanti, than whom a more trustworthy witness could not be found, assures us that:—*Proprios mores unaquæque habet ecclesia et laudabiles consuetudines, quas non tolli a cæremoniali Romano, neque a rubricis Breviarii, sæpius declaravit Sacra rituum Congregatio.*

That a difference in her ritual could nowise hurt the Church's oneness of belief and teaching, has been ably shown by Father De Azevedo, one of the brightest lights which shone in that learned Association for liturgical studies, formed and often presided over in person by Benedict XIV.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ *De Cruce Vatic.*, 74.

⁹⁷ This intimate friend of that Roman pontiff says:—

Tantum abest, ut veteri assentiamur quærelæ, in Ecclesia, quæ unicam fidem profitetur, tot officii recitandi institutiones nequam esse ferendas, ut ipsam iis varietatibus, tanquam variis gemmis, et monilibus exornatam, variaque suppellectili divitem confidenter prædicemus. Christi sponsa est, adeoque pretiosum exposcit indumentum multiformi colorum nitore distinctum. Quid autem vestes multicolores nisi varietas sacrorum rituum quibus ecclesiastici viri Deo laudes persolvunt? Unam quidem Ecclesiam

(259) Between the Anglo-Saxon and the Sarum rite there was but small difference: this latter bore about it a strong sister likeness to the first, so that, while looking upon the one, we, after a way, behold both. In its features and its whole stature, we gaze, as it were, upon our fathers in their religious life; we read their ghostly annals, through a thousand years and more, as a Catholic people. It tells us what men and women, old and young, high and low, then did and must have done to have got for this land of England that sweet name, among the nations, of "the island of Saints." When we take a remembrance of this liturgy with us into the tall cathedral and the lowly parish church, those dear old walls that catholic hands built are again quickened into ritual life; we see the lighted tapers round the shrine, or circling about the Blessed Sacrament hung above the altar; we catch the chant, we witness the procession as it halts to kneel and pray beneath the rood-loft; to the inward eye, the bishop with his seven deacons and as many subdeacons, is standing at the altar sacrificing, and as he uplifts our divine Lord in the Eucharist, for the worship of the kneeling throng,

universalem et orthodoxam confitemur; sed unius corporis plura membra diversa obire munia in unum finem tendentia quis nescit? Praeterea, uti gentium, ac nationum mores diversi sunt, ita ad actus religionis, cultumque Divinum diversis utuntur institutis, quæ, salva Christianæ fidei integritate, vix possent ab eis vel omitti, vel auferri.—De Azevedo, *De Divin. Off. et Missæ Sacrif. Exercitationes*, Venetiis, 1783, i. 38, Exercise x.

we hear the bell toll forth slowly, majestically. From the southern porch-door, to the brackets on the eastern chancel wall for the B. V. Mary's and the patron saint's images, every thing has its own meaning and speaks its especial purpose, as intended by the use of Sarum. Can these rites never again be witnessed in England? They may. Let us hope then—let us pray for their restoration, so that England may once more gaze upon her olden liturgy; let us hope and pray that her children, in looking upon, may all acknowledge their true mother, and love and heed the teaching the while they study the ritual of *the Church of our Fathers*.

· FINIS

POSTSCRIPT

SINCE Dr. Rock began this work in 1849 much has happened in the liturgical world, and the aim of this brief postscript is to add some notes bearing upon the development of his subject since his time. A great deal has been done by the editors in revising his notes and giving more modern references without changing anything but minute details, and every page of the new edition contains alterations of this sort, which do not alter Dr. Rock's work, but make it more serviceable to its new generation of readers. Since his time many MS. texts have become available in print, and many rare incunabula have been reprinted; for example, the whole set of Sarum Service-books is now available, the Leofric Missal has been finely edited, the Henry Bradshaw Society has supplied editions of the Winchester Troper, the Maydeston Tracts, &c., the Surtees Society has re-issued York Service-books, and so on: thus many of the rare sources, on which Rock was the first to draw, are now accessible to an increasing public.

To a certain extent this means that more

accurate information is now to be had: thus Rock's account of the Sarum Consuetudinary is now superseded (vol. i. p. 3), his edition of Beroldus has given place to Magistretti's new edition (vol. i. p. 433), his remarks about the Penitential of Theodore need to be corrected by more modern researches of Stubbs in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, Schmitz in his *Bussbücher* and others (vol. iii. p. 190, a note which is chiefly omitted in the new edition as being misleading). Again, his reference to the Codex of Ceolfrid needs now to be completed by a mention of the identification of this MS. with the celebrated Codex Amiatinus now at Florence (vol. i. pp. 285, 286): his treatment of the Guilds must be supplemented by such books as those of Toulmin Smith, Gross, Brentano, &c., and the kindred subject of the Mystery plays has been illuminated by the publishing of the Townley series of religious dramas, and of the plays represented at York, Coventry, Chester, to which Rock makes a passing reference (vol. ii. p. 425).

Again, much of the controversial matter has become out of date: indeed in vol. i. parts of a voluminous dispute with Mr. Maskell conducted in the notes have been omitted in this edition; but there remain scattered up and down the volumes more isolated remarks which have been left standing though they are no longer appropriate; such as that upon the cut of the shrine

of St. Edward the Confessor in vol. iii. p. 383, and others as to the practice of the English Church.

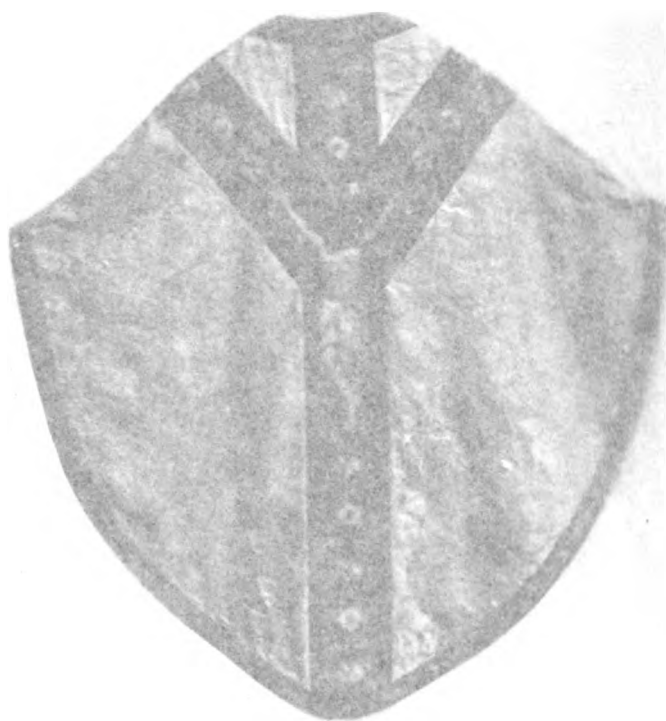
If the learned author were alive now and wished to find examples of the old English ways which



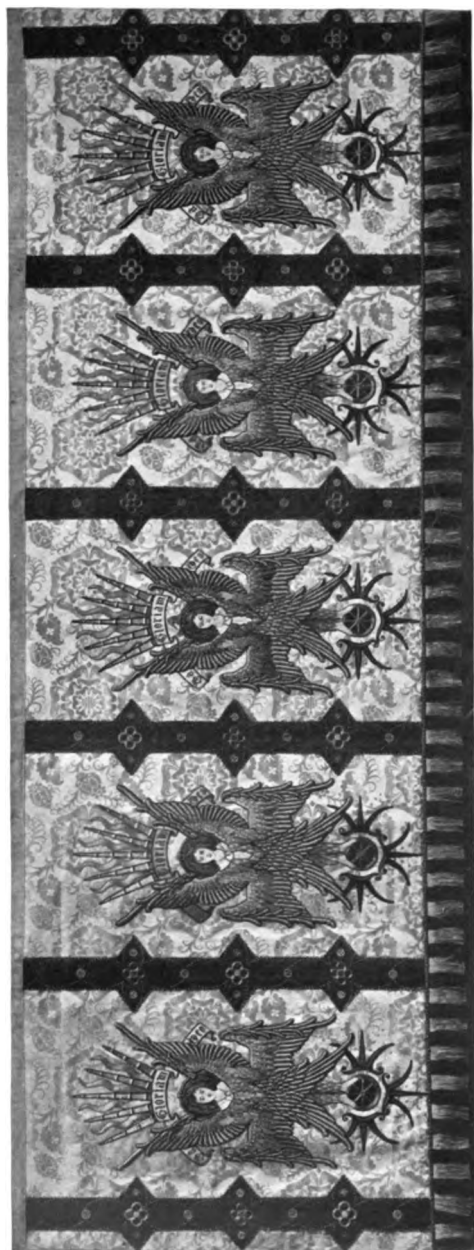
Modern English Chasuble

were so dear to him he would have to go to the Churches of the Establishment rather than to those of the Roman Catholic body. There at any rate he would find that his eloquent plea for the revival of "our old majestic chasuble, with its beautiful symbolism, the appressed alb, the full





The shield is made of a material that appears to be leather or a similar synthetic material. It has a central vertical band and two diagonal bands forming a 'Y' shape. The central band is decorated with a series of small, circular patterns. The diagonal bands are decorated with a series of small, rectangular patterns. The background of the shield is a light color, possibly white or a very light gray.



MODERN ENGLISH ALTAR CLOTH

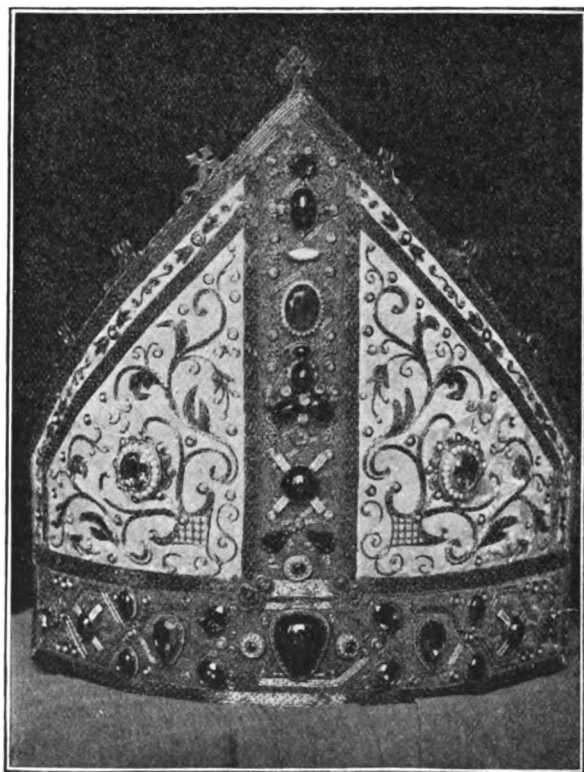
flowing surplice" (vol. i. p. 343), has not been without fruit. If he desired to find the successors of the English nuns whose embroidery was famous throughout Europe (vol. ii. pp. 274, 275), he would



Modern English Cope

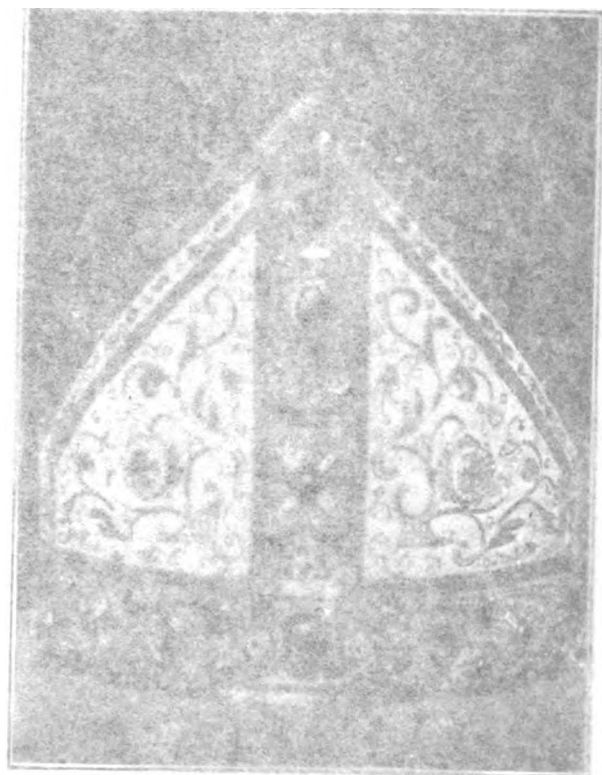
have to look in Anglican convents; the chasuble, cope and altar cloth here figured give some idea of their work, while the mitre is an excellent proof of the rivalry in zeal and skill which is kept

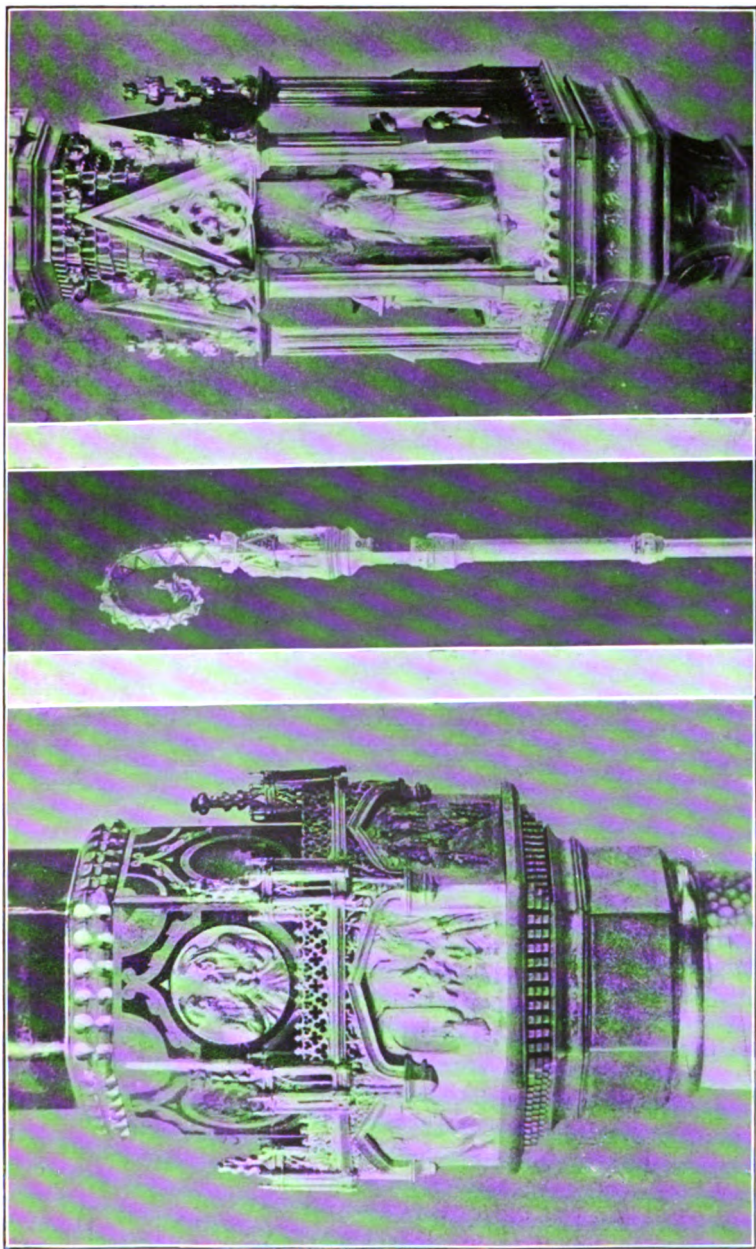
up by many ladies living busy lives in the world but none the less eager to bear their part in the adornment of the House and worship of Almighty God. These illustrations of modern vestments,



Modern English Mitre

and again the picture of a modern pastoral staff, which represents another class of the ecclesiastical ornaments of to-day, show a tangible result of Rock's labours and influence; and they are but



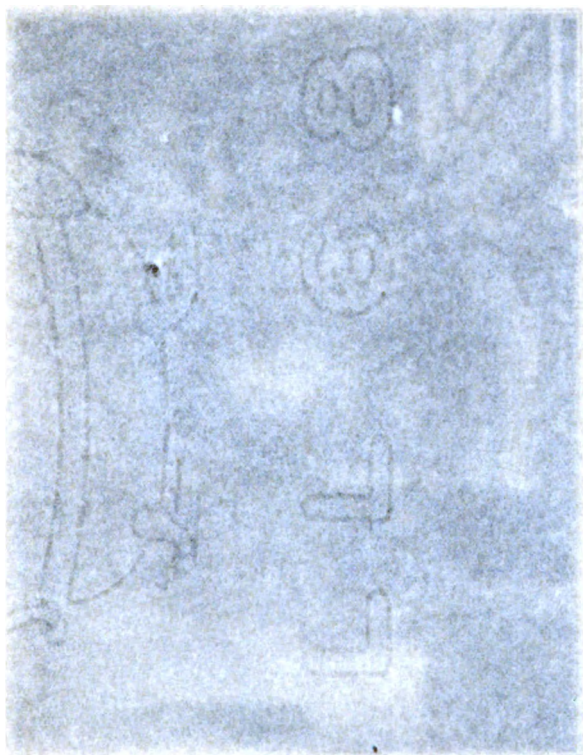


PASTORAL STAFF OF THE DIOCESE OF ALBANY, U.S.A.

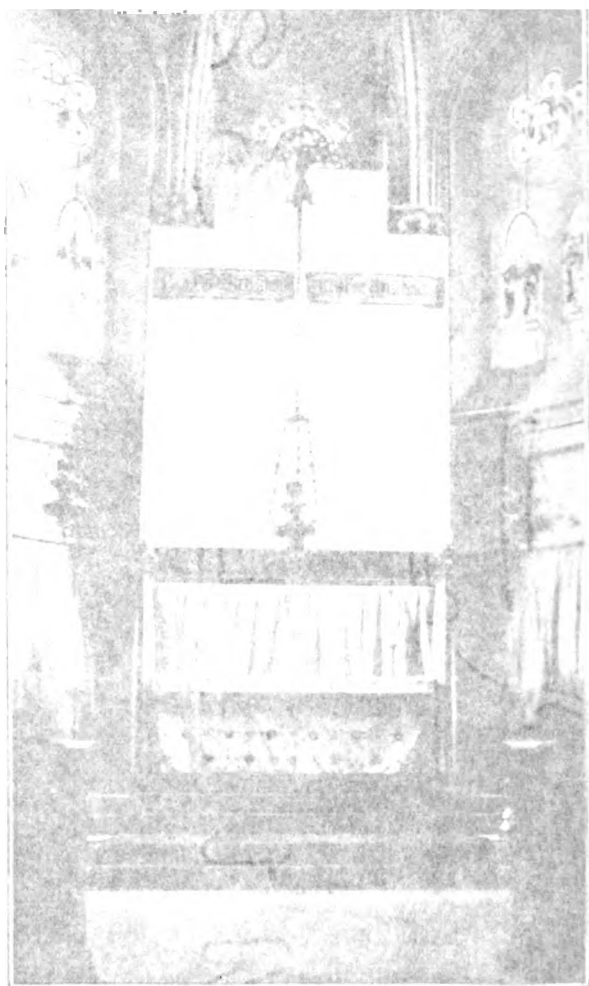


HIGH ALTAR IN LENT ARRAY

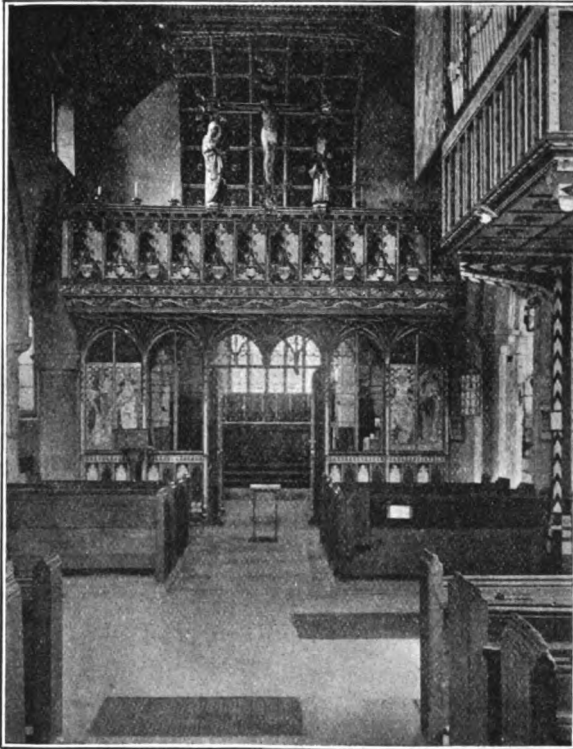
page 303



of England,
my can n...
er of Englis
the Lent veil
at least



a few specimens of a mass of work done on the old English lines, which was taken up largely under the influence of his book. The same may be said to a large extent of the modern



Egmonton Church

revivals of ancient ways in the arrangement of churches. The ancient Lent array can now be seen revived in a growing number of English churches, if not in its full form with the Lent veil obscuring the whole of the sanctuary, yet at least

in a degree which produces the sad and almost dreary effect that reigned in the churches in the old days through the early weeks of Lent until Passiontide came in with its red glory of triumph and its ruddy anticipation of the Passion. The ancient pyx can be seen hung up where the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament is conceded, the ancient screens are not only restored but are made the models of new rood-lofts, where the sign of our Redemption stands as of old, and the crucifix is the middle point between the faithful in the nave and the living presence of their Lord vouchsafed to them at the altar.

The researches which Dr. Rock instituted have not only proved fruitful in these ways: they have led to more developed inquiry, which has to a certain extent carried things past the point reached by him. As to ornaments, for example, many new inventories have been published, notably those of Canterbury by Legg and Hope, those of Salisbury by Wordsworth and others not cited by Rock from other cathedral, monastic, collegiate, and parochial churches; and these publications, which are widely scattered, have now been indexed, and thus made more readily accessible to students.¹

The question of the English liturgical colours has been elaborately investigated, and the results are summarised in Mr. Hope's paper in the *Trans-*

¹ *Bibliographie générale des Inventaires imprimés.* MM. de Mély and E. Bishop (1892).

actions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society. The pre-reformation ornaments have been handled in a similar summary—Mr. Micklethwaite's *Alcuin Tract on "The Ornaments of the Rubric."* With regard to the history and development of the vestments, more serious corrections have been made, and more modern works need to be consulted by the student; such as those of Braun,² Magistretti,³ Grisar,⁴ Wilpert,⁵ or the summary in Lowrie's *Christian Art and Archæology* (ch. vi.), or Duchesne's *Early Christian Worship* (ch. xi.). In particular the section with regard to the pallium (vol. ii. p. 126) needs much correction in view of recent research.

There are many points which show that Dr. Rock was more familiar with the customs of the later middle ages than with those of the earlier: for example, he says (vol. i. p. 101) that an illumination of the crucifix "always preceded the Canon of the Mass in all old MSS.": this is true in a sense of later mediæval books—though even in their case there would be many exceptions—but not at all true of the earliest MSS. In them the Canon begins at the versicles before the Preface;⁶

² *Die Priesterlichen Gewänder* (Freiburg, 1897); *Die Pontificalen Gewänder* (Freiburg, 1898).

³ *Delle vesti ecclesiastiche in Milano* (Milan, 1897).

⁴ *Analecta Romana*, ch. xii. (Rome, 1899).

⁵ *Un capitolo di storia del vestiario* (Rome, 1898, 1899).

⁶ See *Gelasian Sac.*, 695; *Missale Francorum*, 692; and even the *Leofric Missal*, p. 60.

and rightly so, for this is the true opening of the *Anaphora*, and it was a liturgical blunder to alter it. For these reasons the earliest ornament to the Canon was given at this point: for any such decoration we must go down to the Carolingian days when, with the advent of the new "Gregorian" Sacramentary a new custom came in: the *Anaphora* was now placed in a prominent position in the volume, and soon attracted to it the attention of the miniaturists, who, up till then, seemed to have confined it either to special ornamental pages or else to the title-pages of the various books of the Gelasian Sacramentary.⁷ They now developed the glorification of initials, and principally of the V or V D occurring at *Vere Dignum*, the beginning of the Preface: more rarely it is the P of the *Per omnia secula* before the Preface that is glorified, or an independent miniature is inserted. At a later date, and to a less degree at first, attention was given to the T of *Te igitur*, which now began to be reckoned the opening words of the Canon, and the T is converted into a crucifix in the eighth century MS. at Paris known as the Sacramentary of Gellone.

From that time onward the custom spread, but for a long time yet the T in many MSS. was little—if at all—adorned, or was far less decorated

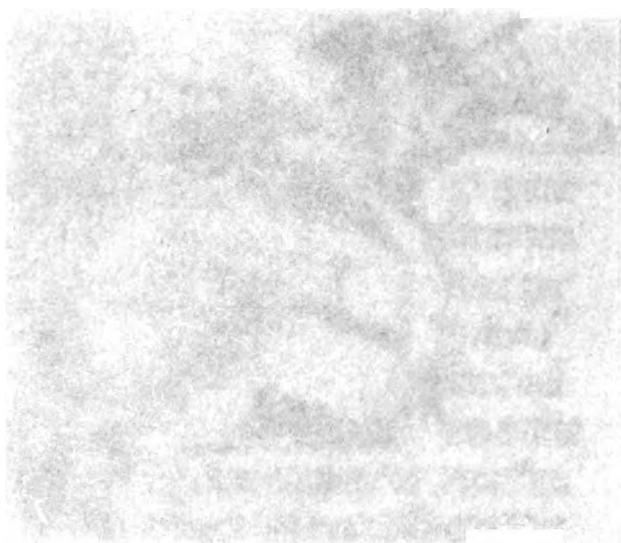
⁷ See the facsimiles of Delisle, *Memoire sur d'Anciens Sacramentaires*; and Ebner, *Quellen*, p. 430, &c.

DN'S NOBISCUM R'ESP. & r'esp'ndu uo-
 b'usurum cor. R'ESP. Habemus addim.
 GRATIAS AGIMUS DO NOSTRO.
 DIGNUM ET IUSTUM EST.



ETIENNE ESTAVOU

ET SALUTARE POSTIBUS SEMPER
ET UBIQUE CREATURAS AGERE ONE
SCIENTER OMNES ET ERNE OS PER
XPM OMNIBUS PER QUEM MA
LESTATEO TUAM LAUDANT ANGU
A ORANT DOMINATIONE NOSTRE
MUNT POTESTATES CAELI CAELO
RUO QUE VIRIUTES AC BENI GSE
RAPHYM SOCI EXULTATIONE COM
CELEBRANT OMNIBUS ET NOS
TUS ACCE SUO MITTITURUS
DE PRECA OMNIBUS APPLICANTES
SIONE DICENTES OMNES ANNO PHENIM
SUNT CAELI ET TERRA GLORIA TUA
OSANNAN IN EXCELSIS BENEDICTUS
QUI DEDIT IN OMNIBUS CONTI OSAN
NAN IN EXCELSIS



than the V D ; while an elaboration of the letters was a far more common method of adornment than the transformation of the T into a crucifix, which is rare until the end of the tenth century. So the appearance of this sign here belongs to the later middle ages, and synchronises with the



The Beginning of the Canon, Fourteenth Century

development of the doctrinal fashion of setting the Sacrifice of the Eucharist in connexion with the Passion, to the exclusion of the Resurrection, Ascension, and heavenly priesthood of Christ. The illustration on the opposite page from a Sacramentary of the ninth century shows one of the transitional stages: the V D is still the

chief illumination, but the T has begun to be glorified, for it may be seen showing through the vellum of the right-hand page of the two reproduced.

At a later stage still the crucifix became independent of the T of *Te igitur* and was relegated to the page facing it, and the T began to develop afresh, and such adornments were given to it as that reproduced on p. 307. It is with these later stages that Dr. Rock shows himself to have been more familiar than with the earlier.

Again, a more modern writer would be too cautious to speak of the Mozarabic Liturgy as having been framed by St. Isidore (vol. i. p. 105); he would probably give as author of the *Micrologus* not Ivo of Chartres (vol. i. p. 102), but Bernold of Constance:⁸ he would have pointed to the use of the *Ave Maria* text as the Offertory for Wednesday in the December Embertide according to the Gregorian arrangement, not at the fourth Sunday in Advent, for that Sunday was destitute of a solemn service of its own till a much later date than that of St. Gregory (vol. iii. pp. 315, 316): he would not have committed himself to the statement that the cross always stood upon the altar (vol. i. p. 267), for mediæval altars comparatively rarely had crosses set on them, and the custom of placing one there has come from the processional cross being set at the back of the

⁸ *Revue Benedictine*, xii. (1895), p. 395.

altar after the procession before Mass. It was far more common to have the crucifixion represented on the reredos or superfrontal.⁹

In other cases Dr. Rock knows the Roman Missal better than the old English rite: else he would not have spoken as he did of the *Lavabo* (vol. iii. p. 129); for the verses *Lavabo inter innocentes* were not said at that point in the English rite, as he points out (vol. iv. p. 150), but the prayer *Munda me domine*; and the ceremony was known in England as the "Lavatory," not the *Lavabo*. Nor would he have spoken so confidently of a shelf being set upon English altars at the end of the fifteenth century to carry not only the candlesticks, but crucifix and even flower-vases (vol. i. p. 238, n. 58). The existence of the last at such a date is so far unsupported, the crucifix was rare, and the shelf is a matter of the keenest controversy among experts.¹⁰ In the same note his statement that frontals should be of the same colour as the vestments is certainly not always borne out by the pictures, and the demand for similar identity between frontal and frontlet is not always supported by the ancient inventories.¹¹ The identification of the "Jesus Mass" (vol. iii. p. 113) with the Mass of the Five Wounds is another

⁹ See the altars in *Alcuin Club Collections*, vols. i. and ii.

¹⁰ *Alcuin Club Tracts*, 1: "The Ornaments of the Rubric," by J. T. Micklethwaite, 23, 63.

¹¹ See for example the Lincoln inventory of 1536 in Dugdale *Monasticon*, vi. 1286.

case in point: the term properly denotes the *Missa de nomine Jesu*, which was a common votive Mass before the festival of "The most sweet name of Jesus" began in England in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

Sometimes, on the contrary, Dr. Rock makes a distinction between English and foreign custom which is not legitimate: thus he says, speaking of the Gabriel, or Ave, bell, that "the midday bell was never rung in England" (vol. iii. p. 339).

Prayers, however, are prescribed in the Primers to be said "at the tolling of the Ave bell at none for a memory and remembrance of the passion and death of Christ," some Responds, the Passion Collect *Domine Jesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, qui pro salute mundi*, and the Lord's Prayer. These were no doubt to be added to the usual devotions of that hour, and the ordinary custom is there thus laid down:—

"Every day in the morning after iij tollings of the Ave bell say iij times the whole salutation of our Lady, Ave Maria: that is to say, at vi the klock in the morning iij Ave Maria, at xij the klock at none iij Ave Maria, and at vj the klock at even."

The devotions are thus prescribed:—

"This prayer shall be said at the tolling of the Ave Bell. *Suscipe verbum virgo Maria . . . Ave: say this iij times. And afterward say this collect following: V Dilexisti justitiam. . .*

R. Propterea unxit. . . . Or. Deus qui de beatæ Mariæ virginis utero. . . . Pater Noster. Ave."¹²

The indulgences attached were great, and these were made the excuse for the prohibition of "the knolling of the Aves after service and at other times" by the Injunctions of A.D. 1538.¹³

Various subjects less technically liturgical are also so handled as to make a word of caution necessary. Ecclesiology has had much to say since Dr. Rock's time on the subject of Leper Windows, Ankret's cells, and Low Side windows (vol. iii. p. 118).¹⁴ Antiquarians have disputed much as to the relics of St. Cuthbert (vols. i. p. 415, ii. p. 303), about which Dr. Rock himself does not seem to have had a consistent opinion. Anglo-Saxon scholars have discussed at length the meaning of Alfred's *Æstel* (vol. i. p. 292) since Dr. Rock's time as well as before, and equally without coming to a decisive conclusion : a clearer point, and one in which it seems clear that Rock is in error, is in reference to the Belts of Pater-nosters of which he speaks (vol. iii. pp. 5, 7). The word *Beltidum* was explained by Spelman as meaning a rosary ; but the latest editors of the Acts of the Council have much more

¹² Hoskins, *Primers*, 126.

¹³ Burnet, *Hist. Reform.*, Record No. xi. of Part i. Book 3.

¹⁴ Valuable papers are to be found in *St. Paul's Eccles. Soc. Trans.*, and in *Archæologia Aeliana*, parts 56, 57 (Newcastle-on-Tyne).

probability on their side in referring it to the seven tunes of bell-ringing, *i.e.* *Bel-tidum*.¹⁶

Attention has already been called to the curious mistake (vol. i. p. 47) by which the opening woodcut of the Gradual was taken to represent a miracle of



Ad te levavi animam meam

the Holy Sacrament instead of being a symbolical representation of the opening words *Ad te levavi animam meam*. The miniature here reproduced shows the same idea, less magnificently executed, but more unmistakeable since there is no altar represented, and the figure is not that of a priest

¹⁶ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 585.

saying Mass; and moreover, the picture adorns the A of the *Ad te levavi* Introit of the First Sunday in Advent.

Enough of this ungenerous task of picking holes in a book which in its day was a fine monument of erudition, and of so solid a structure that it is of great value still. It might easily have been enlarged and supplied with further notes, references, and illustrations, both literary and pictorial: but this was not the scope of the new edition; the task of the editors has been the less onerous one of reproducing Dr. Rock's work with some greater fulness in references, some additional illustrations, &c., to which (in nearly all cases) he called attention; and their best tribute to the scholarship of their author lies in the fact that this postscript of typical emendanda and corrigenda can be as short as it is.

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